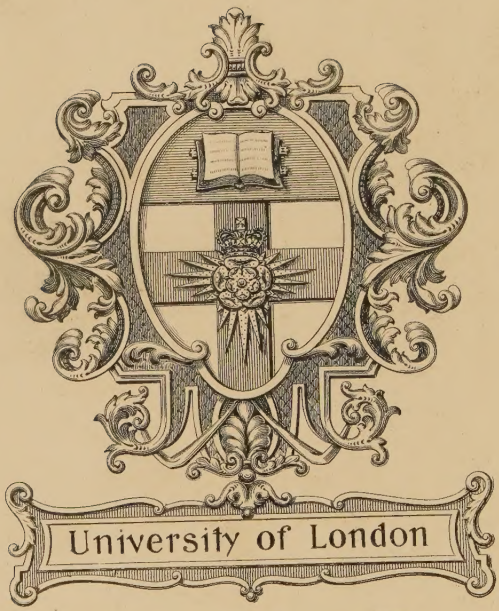
63 Periodicals
Royal



SHL
WITHDRAWN

23 JUL 1979

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Society, AS A BODY, *is not responsible for the opinions advanced in the following pages.*

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Series

VOLUME XIII

LONDON
OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY
22 RUSSELL SQUARE, W.C.1
1930

Made and Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: "MACHIAVELLI'S *IL PRINCIPE*." By *Sir Richard Lodge, LL.D. Litt.D.* 1

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF IRELAND BEFORE AND AFTER 1922. By *Herbert Wood, B.A., M.R.I.A., F.R.Hist.Soc.* . . . 17

KING STEPHEN'S EARLDOMS. By *G. H. White, F.R.Hist.S.* . 51

SCHOOL LIFE IN MEDIÆVAL FINLAND. By *Donald Smith, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S.* 83

THE SPANISH RESISTANCE TO THE ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF JAMAICA, 1655–1660. By *Irene A. Wright, B.A., F.R.Hist.S.* 117

THE PROPOSED ANGLO-FRANCO-AMERICAN TREATY OF 1852 TO GUARANTEE CUBA TO SPAIN. By *Professor A. A. Ettinger, D.Phil.(Oxon.)* 149

THE LATER HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE CUSTOMS REVENUE IN ENGLAND (1671–1814). By *B. R. Leftwich, M.B.E., F.R.Hist.S.* 187

WILLIAM HUSKISSON AND THE CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS AT LISKEARD IN 1802 AND 1804. By *Professor G. S. Veitch, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.* 205

INDEX 229

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL 241

LIST OF FELLOWS AND SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES, ETC. . . . 251

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered 13 *February*, 1930

By Sir Richard Lodge, LL.D., Litt.D.

Machiavelli's *Il Principe*

Few names are so familiar as that of Machiavelli, who has given at least an adjective to every European language, and few books have been subjected to such intense scrutiny and such industrious commentary as his most impressive work, *The Prince*. It may well be thought that there is nothing more to be said about either the author or the book, and that an apology is needed for adding even an ephemeral address to the enormous mass of literature about Machiavelli. My apology or explanation is a simple one. The great majority of the critics and commentators deal with problems which are of great interest in themselves but do not concern my immediate object. One of these is the ethical question as to how far the supposed interest of the state—the *raison d'état*—justifies a departure from the ordinary accepted canons of morality or honesty. Another is the place of Machiavelli in the history of what is called Political Science. And a third very fruitful topic is the influence of Machiavelli's teaching upon political action in successive generations after his death. I do not propose to deal with any of these matters, but to concentrate

attention upon the narrower problem of the motive and purpose which induced Machiavelli to write one particular book, *Il Principe*. This problem, in comparison with the others to which I have referred, has been largely neglected or obscured because most commentators have treated the book, in connection with the *Discorsi*, as a deliberate statement of Machiavelli's views as to the methods which should be adopted in founding, extending, and maintaining a principality. In this assumption they have been encouraged and confirmed by the author's inveterate habit of stating his propositions in the most general terms.

The book itself has been familiar to me for more than half a century. I first studied it for examination purposes when I was reading for the School of Modern History at Oxford. It was one of the prescribed books for my special subject. For sixteen years after graduation I expounded it to successive generations of undergraduates. In those years I formed a strong opinion as to the motive which induced Machiavelli to write it. The evidence seemed to me so simple and convincing that I expected to find my conclusion generally accepted. It was therefore rather a blow to me when I referred to one authority after another and found that they either evaded the issue or at any rate failed to find or to state what seemed to me a self-evident solution. I remember very vividly going to hear John Morley, as he was then, deliver the Romanes Lecture on Machiavelli, and my disappointment when he abstained from saying what I wanted him to say. And so, when a few weeks ago I cast about in my mind for some suitable subject for a presidential address, I determined to give the eighteenth century a holiday, to go back to a period which at one time was more familiar to me than any other, and to put on record opinions which I had never found reason to alter, though I had never stated them except in oral instruction.

Since I began to write this paper I have at last discovered a historian who is, or rather was, in whole-hearted

agreement with me. When I say that my champion is no less a person than Leopold von Ranke, whom I was brought up to regard as perhaps the greatest all-round historian of the nineteenth century, you will understand how greatly I have been encouraged by the assurance of his posthumous support. It is true that the essay in which he expressed his views was an early work, having been published as long ago as 1824, but it was reprinted with unimportant changes in 1874 and again in 1884, so that we may conclude that, in spite of hostile criticisms, he found as little reason to alter his views as I have done. Ranke's main contention is that the commentators have misrepresented Machiavelli by taking as general maxims for all princes and all time what he wrote as advice to a particular prince in peculiar and special circumstances and for his guidance to a definite objective.[1] This is the thesis which I have always held and which I propose to state and defend this afternoon.

In order to make my position clear it is necessary to offer some preliminary observations, which I will make as short as possible. *The Prince* was written in the later months of 1513, and Machiavelli's motives were necessarily conditioned by the contemporary state of affairs (1) in Europe, (2) in Italy generally, and in two Italian states with which he was peculiarly concerned, (3) the States of the Church and (4) his own city of Florence.

(1) As to Europe, it is a commonplace to state that the mediæval conception of the Holy Roman Empire was for all practical purposes obsolete at the close of the fifteenth century. Beyond the ever narrowing bounds of what was still called the Empire, states were forming themselves under the influence of that novel and undefinable force which we call nationality. England was politically outside the Florentine's ken, but two of the newly coherent states, France and Spain, were vitally

[1] Ranke's excursus on Machiavelli was appended to his *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber* (3rd edition, 1884), pp. 151–74.

concerned with the problems which troubled him. In both these states such unity as had been achieved was associated with a dynasty, with the increased authority of the crown, and with the overthrow of aristocratic privileges and independence. If you wish to realise how strongly this process of unification impressed Machiavelli, you have only to read what he says of the part played by the Parliament of Paris in bringing about the unity of France.

(2) From the prevalent tendency towards a national grouping of states in western Europe, Italy seemed to be comparatively exempt. It is needless to examine into the causes of Italian disunion. A nominal subjection to an alien and distant monarchy in Germany, the quarrels of Empire and Papacy with the resultant factions of Ghibellines and Guelfs, the obstinate traditions of municipal republicanism, all combined with the influence of geography to break up northern and central Italy into a number of minute political units. Such unifying influences as found their way into the peninsula took the form of the substitution of despotisms for democratic or oligarchical institutions, and of the subjection of the lesser states to their more powerful neighbours. By this process of local centralisation Italy came in the fifteenth century to be dominated by five principal states, the duchy of Milan, Venice, Florence, the Papacy, and the Kingdom of Naples. All progress towards more complete unification was checked by temporary coalitions against any state which threatened to overthrow the balance of power between these predominant units. This uneasy and fluctuating balance could at any moment be destroyed by the calling in of a foreign power. For generations southern Italy had been involved in constant wars by the rival claims of the houses of Anjou and Aragon. At the end of the fifteenth century these claims passed to the ruling dynasties of France and Spain, and when Louis XII added to his Neapolitan claim a pretension to the duchy of Milan, the whole peninsula, north as well as

south, was involved in this clash between the two major states of the continent. The German king, by virtue of his claim to imperial suzerainty in Italy, could not hold aloof from the contest, and thus Italy became the cockpit of Europe. In these incessant wars the Italian states themselves could only play an ignoble part, because the mercenary troops which they had employed for generations in their local feuds proved to be no match for the French or the Spaniards or even for the alien mercenaries who were brought in from Switzerland. Thus Italy seemed to lose not only all prospect of unity but almost all hope of independence. Such independence as was left to some of the states was only maintained by playing off one foreign invader against the other, a game which was both difficult and hazardous.

(3) The fifteenth century was a notable epoch in the history of the Papacy. The Latin Church, though more stable and more deeply-rooted than the Holy Roman Empire, appeared to be doomed to share its fate. A mortal blow to its claim to universality was dealt when the Council of Constance was divided into units whose ecclesiastical decisions were largely guided by political interests, thus justifying their academic name of "nations," and when Martin V foiled the schemes of the reforming party by concluding concordats with the separate states. From this it was but a step to the semi-political secessions of the following century. The process of disruption was hastened by the absorption of Martin V and his successors in the task of restoring papal control in the ecclesiastical states, which had been torn to pieces by the great baronial houses during the Babylonish Captivity in Avignon and the Great Schism. After alternating success and failure on the part of intermediate Popes, the suppression of the nobles and princes in Rome and the Romagna was practically completed by Alexander VI and Cæsar Borgia, whose policy Machiavelli had occasion to observe closely when he was sent on missions to Cæsar's camp. Their aim, as he

admits, was to found a secular principality for the house of Borgia, but the fruit of their achievements was reaped by the Papacy under Julius II. Julius was the real founder of the Papal States, and he thrust them into the seething cauldron of Italian politics. After humbling Venice by means of the League of Cambray, he turned against the French, raised the patriotic cry of "down with the foreigner," and organised the Holy League. He succeeded in his immediate aim, the eviction of the French from Lombardy, but he only did so by an inconsistent alliance with Spain, and thus helped to rivet upon Italy the chains of its first permanent subjection to foreign domination. On his death in 1513 the Papal States, with all the prominence which he had given to them, passed to his successor, Giovanni dei Medici, who took the name of Leo X.

(4) During the fifteenth century Florence had preserved her republican institutions, but the two great Medici, Cosimo, *Pater Patriæ*, and his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent, had so manipulated them as to establish a personal rule which was none the less absolute because it was disguised. On Lorenzo's death in 1492, a fateful date for Italy and for Europe, this rule was assumed by his incompetent eldest son, Piero. Two years later Charles VIII's famous march through Italy resulted in the expulsion of Piero and his brothers, and Florence became once more a pure Republic. As its revival was due to France, the republican government remained, in spite of some vacillations, loyal to the French alliance during the prolonged wars which followed. It was under this government that Machiavelli was employed and obtained his insight not only into domestic administration but also into the general currents of Italian and European politics. He was Secretary to the Council of Ten and was sent on several legations in Italy and twice to the Court of France. The period of republican revival was not a very triumphant one. Internal disorders, in which the rise and fall of Savonarola were involved, led to the adoption of an extreme remedy, the

appointment of a Gonfalonier for life, in imitation of the Venetian Doge. Still more humiliating than domestic strife were the revolt of Pisa, the greatest conquest of the old Republic, and the disasters which accompanied the twelve years' siege that was required before the rebel city was reduced. And in the end the Republic had to pay dearly for its adhesion to France. In 1512, during the war of the Holy League, Spanish and Papal forces, under the guidance of the Cardinal dei Medici, occupied Florence, deposed the Republican Gonfalonier, and restored the constitution as before 1494, which meant the restoration of Medici rule. Machiavelli was deprived of his office and, after a short period of imprisonment for his services to the Republic, retired with his wife and family to his little estate near San Casciano, where he sought consolation for his impotence and poverty in the exercise of his pen. His favourite study was Roman history, and, taking Livy as his text, he began to write the *Discorsi* in which he commented upon the Roman historian in the light of his own political experience.

This then was the situation in 1513 as Machiavelli surveyed it. Italy was not only more torn and divided than ever but was under the heel of the foreigner: in his own words, "more enslaved than the Hebrews, more servile than the Persians, more dispersed than the Athenians, without a head, without order, beaten, despoiled, ravaged, over-run, and enduring every kind of ruin." It is true that one of the great invaders, France, had been for the moment driven from Italian soil, but it was not likely that its expulsion would be permanent. And in the meantime Spanish rule had been firmly fixed in southern Italy, and the imperial suzerainty, so long purely nominal, had been revived in the north by the return of the Sforzas to Milan. In his own city the Republic which had employed him had been overthrown, and the rule of the Medici had been restored under the protecting patronage of the now powerful Papal State. As long as Leo X was Pope, and he

was still a comparatively young man, it was not humanly probable that the power of the ruling house, whether wielded by the Pope's brother, Giuliano, or by his nephew, the youthful Lorenzo, would be overthrown. Gradually there seems to have dawned upon Machiavelli's mind the idea that Italy's salvation might be found in this opportune conjunction of Florence with the Papacy. If only Leo would give to his brother or his nephew the support which Alexander VI had given to Cæsar Borgia, and if he would adhere to the anti-foreign programme put forward in his later years by Julius II, there might be built up a central Italian principality strong enough to extend its power to the Alps, and to establish there a barrier against any renewed invasion from France and against any active intervention on the part of Maximilian or his successors in Germany. It is hardly to be supposed that Machiavelli contemplated anything so chimerical as the expulsion of Spain from its southern kingdom. Naples had always been apart from Italy; its whole history was in complete contrast to that of the rest of the peninsula; it had not been included in that Lombard kingdom whose crown had been assumed by the mediæval Emperors. The Italy which Machiavelli dreamed of as united and free was bounded on the south by the States of the Church.

Having dreamed his dream, Machiavelli was confronted with the problem of its realisation. It was obvious to him that neither pen nor voice could suffice. It would be useless to come out into the open, to denounce Italian degeneracy, to point out its causes, and to prescribe his heroic remedies, which included the formation of a national militia to supersede the fatal mercenaries of the past. He had watched the career of Savonarola, had contrasted it with that of past leaders from Moses downwards, and had come to his famous conclusion that it is only the armed prophets who have prevailed; the unarmed have always been ruined. He would not play the part of the unarmed prophet. Nor could he see any prospect of

success in a revival, even if it had been possible, of republican independence. As he looked round Europe, he found that all the great achievements of his time were the work of princes. If the Medici prince, either Giuliano or Lorenzo, would undertake to serve the cause of Italy, it would be a small sacrifice on his own part to abandon any theoretical predilections for a Florentine Republic. Inspired by these conceptions, he turned aside from his *Discorsi* to write with great rapidity his manual of instructions for such member of the ruling family as would be willing to follow them. His first idea seems to have been to send his work to Giuliano, as the more amenable to advice and the more likely to conciliate support both in Florence and outside. But when Giuliano died in 1516, he had no alternative but to dedicate it to Lorenzo, and it is the Letter to Lorenzo which is prefixed to all editions of *The Prince*. There was of course no idea at the time of publication. Nothing could be more fatal to the purpose of the book than publicity. And as a matter of fact it was not printed until 1532, after Machiavelli's death, long after the death of Leo X, at a time when all hope of Italian unity had disappeared.

It is not in the least necessary to assume that Machiavelli believed in the possession by either of the Medici princes of the qualities which he desiderated. But a prince can be guided by a far-seeing and capable minister. As Machiavelli pointed out, it is in the choice of such a minister that the wisdom of the prince is demonstrated. I have never been able to read the brief twenty-second chapter on "the Secretaries of Princes" without a conviction that Machiavelli aspired to play to his prospective patron the part that Antonio da Venafro played to Pandolfo Petrucci of Siena. Nor do I see anything discreditable in the supposition, which I believe to be true, that a minor motive for writing *The Prince* was a desire on the part of the author to pave the way for his own return to political employment.

One last explanatory observation. I have said that

Machiavelli turned from writing the *Discorsi* to compose *The Prince*. Any author can understand that he could not altogether free himself from the influence of his previous work. It was largely from this that he took those general assertions that sound so often as if he was laying down the law for all time, and it was wholly from this that he borrowed those classical illustrations and parallels which often seem out of place in a manual for a sixteenth-century ruler, and which rarely add much force to his contentions.

I admit that this reconstruction of Machiavelli's motives is largely conjectural, as indeed most interpretations of past motives must necessarily be. But I claim that it fits in with internal evidence, and it is not, so far as I know, contradicted by any external proof. Of course it may be incomplete: so subtle and complex a mind as that of Machiavelli may well have had other thoughts in reserve. But, so far as it goes, its refutation seems to me difficult and indeed impossible. And it has the supreme merit of removing most of the difficulties which have confronted commentators. It provides a complete answer to those doctrinaire republicans who have denounced Machiavelli as a traitor to his avowed principles because he wrote what appear to be maxims for despots. It explains and justifies the all-important chapter on Ecclesiastical Principalities, with its concluding compliment to Leo X, which appears to be quite irrelevant to the guidance of any normal secular ruler. Above all, it removes what has been a stumbling-block to successive generations of critics, the choice of Cæsar Borgia as an exemplar for Machiavelli's Prince. "I do not know," he says, "what better precepts I can give to a new prince than the example of his actions." This is a matter of such vital importance from my point of view that I may be allowed to develop it at some length.

Machiavelli divides new principalities into two categories according to whether they are acquired by *virtu* or by *fortuna*. *Virtu*, which may be regarded as the key-word

of the Italian Renaissance, has nothing in common with our own word "virtue." It retains the classical meaning of courage or daring, but has acquired in addition the sense of intellectual ability. Fortune, on the other hand, is opportunity or environment. The man who can suit his conduct to contemporary conditions is called fortunate. If the conditions change and his conduct remains unaltered, he at once becomes unfortunate. If a man is skilful enough to change his conduct to suit changing circumstances—*temporeggiare con gli accidenti*—he will be always fortunate. The man who acquires a principality by *virtu* has all his difficulty in gaining his position, but little trouble in maintaining it; whereas the prince who rises by fortune, leaps suddenly to the summit, but requires all his skill and pains to keep himself there. Admitting Machiavelli's distinction, which of the two categories would be the more likely to fit an imaginary prince? There seems to me to be only one possible answer to the question. A prince who was worth advising might be expected to possess or develop *virtu*, or at least to choose a minister who would supply the desired quality. *Fortuna*, on the other hand, was a matter of luck and could not be had for the bidding. It was to be expected therefore that the preceptor of princes in general would lay stress upon the exercise and the reward of ability, and would pay comparatively little attention to careers which owed their starting-point to the chance of good fortune which was not likely to be repeated. But if we turn to *Il Principe* we find that Machiavelli does the precise opposite. He refers to Francesco Sforza as a prince who owed his elevation to *virtu*, and then dismisses him in a sentence. But to the career of Cæsar Borgia, whom he selects as the beneficiary of fortune, he devotes a long and detailed chapter. This was not due, as is generally assumed, to his personal familiarity with the doings of the Borgias, or to any peculiar admiration for Cæsar's character or achievements, but solely to the curious similarity of his *fortuna* with that of the restored Medici in Florence.

Cæsar Borgia was the son of a Pope. It could not be expected that any normal prince in the dim future would find himself so situated. But Giuliano dei Medici was the brother, and Lorenzo was the nephew, of the actually reigning Pope. This fact, and nothing else, made Cæsar an apt example, not for all princes, but for the particular ruler to whom *Il Principe* was to be addressed.

This narrows the much-debated problem of political morality. Machiavelli himself leaves no doubt on this matter in his fifteenth chapter. He will say nothing about imaginary princes, but will confine himself to contemporary facts.

> " My intention being to write something that may be useful to him who understands, it has seemed to me more fitting to go behind to the actual truth about things rather than to any imaginary condition : and indeed there are many imagined republics and principalities which have never been known to exist in fact ; for there is so great a distance between the way men live and the way they ought to live, that he who quits what is actually done for that which ought to be done, will bring about his ruin rather than his safety ; because a man who wishes to be virtuous in all his actions must necessarily be ruined among so many who are not virtuous."

The general conclusion of the chapter is that a prince should, if possible, possess all the virtues, but that in a wicked world he must exercise such self-control that, while avoiding all vices which might ruin the state, he should not be too scrupulous about those which are necessary for its salvation. This is no general maxim for all time : it is advice to an Italian prince in the early part of the sixteenth century. The " wicked world " is the world as Machiavelli saw it. And I confess that, startling or even shocking as it may sound to us at the present day, I do not see what other advice he could have given. If Machiavelli's premises are accepted, it is difficult to resist his conclusions. His most voluminous critic does not defend the political morality of Italy, but contends at great length that things

were just as bad in England, France, and Spain in the same age. This may be consoling to Italians, but it does not affect the contention that a political writer, like a political actor, must be judged by the prevalent morals of his own time rather than by any absolute code. I once had occasion to read an interesting correspondence on this subject between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton. The layman was for the moral code, the whole code, and nothing but the code, while the Bishop pleaded for some allowance for the historic wrong-doer. I own that in this controversy I am on the side of the Bishop. And I must reiterate my conviction that Machiavelli was writing not only about his own time but for his own time and for no other.

This last paragraph is a partial digression into one of those topics which I had determined to avoid. But it is difficult, in writing about Machiavelli, to avoid such a digression. I have still my final argument in the famous last chapter in which he urges the recipient of his book to undertake the sublime task of freeing Italy from the barbarians. I have already quoted from it his picture of the forlorn condition of his native country, and I cannot refrain from one last extract, though no translation can do justice to what is perhaps the finest example of Italian prose.

"There is no visible hope for Italy except in your illustrious house, if, with its *virtu* and its *fortuna* [I lay stress upon this last word], favoured by God and the Church, of which it is now the head [I lay stress again on these words], it will take the lead in the country's redemption. . . . No words can express with what joy it will be received in all those provinces which have suffered from these foreign floods, with what thirst for vengeance, with what resolute faith, with what devotion, with what tears. What gates will be closed to the redeemer? What peoples will refuse him obedience? What jealousy will oppose him? What Italian will deny him devotion? In every man's nostrils this barbarous dominion stinks. Let therefore your illustrious house undertake this venture with the courage and the hope with which men embark on just enterprises in order

that under its standard this country may be ennobled, and under its auspices this sonnet of Petrarch may be verified:

> 'Virtu contro al furore
> Prendera l'arme, e fia il combatter corto;
> Chè l'antico valore
> Negl' Italici cuor non è ancor morto.'" [1]

I have never been able to understand, much less to sympathise with, the contention advanced in some quarters, that this chapter was mere rhetorical camouflage to conceal and justify the deliberate immorality of the rest of the book. If Machiavelli was not sincere when he wrote this, I should lose all faith in the sincerity of any writer. And a man does not write deliberate camouflage to blind the eyes of posterity when he does not know that what he writes will ever meet those eyes.

I can imagine a destructive critic maintaining that the *Principe*, as I have interpreted it, reveals a scheme so chimerical in itself, and proved to be so chimerical by subsequent events, that it can never have been seriously put forward by a man with such an acute intellect and so much practical experience as Machiavelli possessed. I do not accept the conclusion. Machiavelli very probably underestimated certain difficulties, but, even if he had been less sanguine, he would not be the first advocate of a great cause who believed that it would be more advanced by unsuccessful effort than by passive acquiescence. But I admit that the project was chimerical. Its weakest point was the belief that the Papacy would combine with Florence for its promotion. This is probably clearer to us than it was to Machiavelli. For a century before 1513 the Popes had weakened and almost sacrificed their claim to the spiritual headship of a universal Church while they concentrated their efforts on the building up of a temporal lordship. Machiavelli himself had seen Alexander VI

[1] I have not ventured to translate the lines of Petrarch, but Madame Villari has, quite justifiably, been bolder. Her rendering is:

> "When Virtue takes arms against Fury, short will be the fight,
> For in Italian hearts still lives the ancient might."

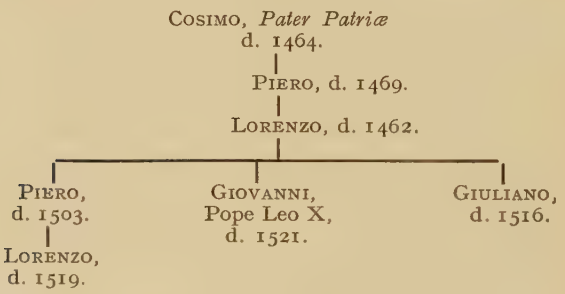
lending the papal name and papal support to the unscrupulous schemes of Cæsar Borgia. And he had seen Julius II acting as a secular prince, leading troops to the war, and proclaiming a sort of Italian crusade against the French. It was not altogether surprising that he left out of account the spiritual side of the Papacy, and believed that the policy of Leo X would be as frankly secular as that of his recent predecessors. But he reckoned without the Reformation. The Lutheran movement with its threat of schism, the actual secession of England, of the north German princes, and the Scandinavian countries, forced the Popes to revive their old claims, to refurbish their ancient weapons, and in the end to consent to a reform of the old Church. It then became clear that the Papacy was by its very nature pledged to war against the principle of nationality, and especially against nationality in the country in which the Popes lived. One of the first acts of the reformed Papacy was to place the works of Machiavelli upon the Index. When in the nineteenth century Italian unity and independence were at last achieved, the Papacy held obstinately aloof and hostile, and it has been left to our own day to witness the signature of a possibly fragile treaty between the head of the Roman Church and the King of a united Italy. In spite of the treaty, the relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal are likely to be uneasy for some time to come.

While Machiavelli was blind as to the spiritual revival of the Papacy, and its consequent desertion of the cause of Italy, which Julius II had seemed for the moment to have espoused, there was another untoward event which he could not foresee. This was the union under Charles V of the Spanish monarchy with the Austrian inheritance and the Imperial pretensions. The overwhelming power wielded by Charles V was responsible for the establishment of that Spanish domination in Italy, which was transmitted from the Spanish to the Austrian Habsburgs, which was restored in 1815 after the shattering blows of Napoleon, and was not finally overthrown till the middle of last

century. And even then it was not overthrown by unaided Italian effort, but by the classic expedient of playing off one foreign state against another.

Although Machiavelli's dream was unrealised, though no Medici aspired to play the part of Victor Emmanuel, or called upon him to play the part of Cavour, and though Italy was ultimately freed by other methods than those which he had devised, his whole-hearted advocacy of his country's cause has never been forgotten, and ever since the middle of the last century he has stood higher in the estimation of his fellow-countrymen than at any other time since his death.

THE MEDICI.



THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF IRELAND BEFORE AND AFTER 1922

By Herbert Wood, B.A., M.R.I.A., F.R.Hist.S.
Sometime Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland

Read 13 *March*, 1930

The history of a country is founded upon its archives, and the preservation not only of its public but also of its private documents belonging to the past is now recognised as essential to the science of history. A document of the past which has survived the continual detrition of centuries may give a different value to a conclusion hitherto arrived at. The feverish haste which urges on younger countries without records to gather together what they can about their country from the archives of other nations shows the importance in which the annals of the past are now held. Accordingly, the destruction of a great accumulation of records, by whatever means it has been caused, comes as a tremendous shock to those who were anxious to wrest the truth from these memorials of the past, and the loss of the Irish public records will deprive the Irish historian of a field which has only partially been worked over.

I have divided my paper into three parts, giving, in the first part, a rapid review of the history of the Irish public records in the past ; in the second, narrating the disastrous circumstances of their ruin, and lastly, presenting you with an account of what has been saved, and how the loss of the rest has been mitigated in various ways.

During the early history of Ireland after the conquest by Henry II and his followers, the public records were not of any great quantity. The land was divided up into lordships and liberties, such as the earldom of Ulster, the

lordship of Connaught, the liberties of Meath, Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny, Desmond, Ormonde, the archbishop of Dublin, and others, leaving but little to the administration of the Justiciar and government at Dublin. As Sir John Davies wrote: "The absolute lords of these palatines were barons and knights, exercised courts of civil and criminal causes, for their own revenues, in the same form in which the King's Courts were established at Dublin: they constituted their own judges, seneschals, sheriffs, coroners and escheators." The King's writ did not run in these liberties, which comprised at least two-thirds of the land, except in the church lands, called cross lands, wherein the sheriff was appointed by the King's representative. The only exception to the enormous powers of these barons was that of the four pleas of the Crown, rape, arson, treasure trove and forestalling, and of cases of appeal, and these were heard before the Justiciar at Dublin or during his tour through the country.

Thus the public records, or records of the administration by the Crown in its very restricted area, consisted of those of the Chancery, the King's Court, the Common Pleas and the Exchequer. The King's Court and the Common Pleas were held in Dublin Castle, and their rolls were deposited there; as also the rolls of the Justiciar, and the iter and assize rolls. The Exchequer was originally outside the Castle, on the eastern side, on a spot now called St. George's Lane. Henry III ordained in 1246 that there should be only one Exchequer for Ireland. The first mention of the Treasury of the Exchequer is to be found in a statement about 1285 that

"recent evidence of the King's fees and rights, and of privileges and memoranda of the Exchequer, were contained in a great book called Domesday. This book having been carried into the Castle by Henry de Ponte, clerk of the Justiciary, and placed at the head of his bed, was burned through bad custody, with others which ought to have remained in the Treasury." [1]

[1] *Cal. Documents, Ireland*, 1285–92, p. 3.

In 1304 we find that there was a great vault in the Castle where the Exchequer rolls were preserved, though it was the custom to convey the coffers and bags from the Castle to the Treasury at the beginning of term and carry them back at the end. But about this time an incident is said to have happened which altered this procedure, for Stanyhurst tells us that

"Among other monuments there is a place in that lane (St. George's) called now Collet's innes, which in old time was the Escacar or Exchekar. Which should implie that the prince's court would not have been kept there, unlesse the place had beene taken to be cock-sure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the baron sitting there solemnlie, and as it seemed, retchleslie; the Irish espieing the oportunitie, rushed into the court in plumps, where surprising the unweaponed multitude they committed horrible slaughters by sparing none that came under their dint; and withall, as far as their Scarborough leasure could serve them, they ransacke the prince his thesaure, upon which mishap the excheker was from thense remooved."

That the event happened about the beginning of the fourteenth century seems certain from an order made in the first decade of that century, when Hothum was in Ireland, that the Treasurer should reside in Dublin Castle with the rolls and other memoranda touching his place, an order which was repeated to Walter de Islip, the Treasurer in 1316, and from this time Dublin Castle became the home of the Treasury.

As to the Chancery records, we know that in 1300 they were kept in St. Mary's Abbey, a Cistercian monastery outside the city on the north side of the river, for in that year a fire broke out in the Abbey, which consumed the records of Cantock, the chancellor, which were at that time deposited there, only a patent and a close roll of that year being saved. Where they were stored for some time after that event there is no evidence to show, but it is probable that they shared the same home as the Exchequer records, viz. Dublin Castle. The courts of the Exchequer

and Common Pleas were removed to Carlow during the years 1364–94, and probably that change resulted in the loss of some records. But we arrive on firmer ground about our knowledge of the records, in the next century, when a concordatum warrant was issued, 23 October, 9 Henry VI (1430), by which twenty marks a year were allotted out of the revenue of the Kingdom, for the reparation of the castle hall, buildings and towers of the Castle of Dublin, wherein the books and records of Chancery, of both Benches and the Exchequer were kept, and there is no doubt but that the tower where they were kept was the Birmingham Tower, a building at the south-east side of the Castle. Here they remained for centuries, the victims of neglect and dishonesty, with spasmodic intervals of attention. A recommendation was made in 1537 to improve the conditions under which these records were kept, in which it was stated that

"for that every keper, for his tyme, as he favorid, so did other imbesell or suffered to be imbesylled such mynymentes as shulde make agaynst them, or their fryndes, so that we have lytill to shewe for any of the Kinges landis or profyts in this partyes."[1]

This recommendation seems to have had some effect, for when Sidney was lord deputy, and was instructed, amongst other matters, to enquire into the safe custody of the records, he reported in 1566 that Henry Draycott, the Master of the Rolls "hath had the perusing, sorting and kalendaringe of Her Majesty's records" which are "well layd upp in a strong chamber of one of the towers of Dublin Castle." This was the Birmingham Tower, and for the first time a keeper was appointed by letters patent, in the person of Thomas Cotton, but the office was a sinecure and the efficient officer was the deputy-keeper, a title which has continued down to the present century.

Let us now return to see what happened to the records of those parts of the country, which under the names of

[1] *State Papers* (*Ireland*), *Henry VIII*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 486.

earldoms, lordships or liberties, had a jurisdiction of their own. Besides those mentioned above, another was created in 1328 when James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond, was granted the liberty of Tipperary. Of the others, the earldom of Ulster, the lordship of Connaught and the liberty of Meath had descended through the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of William de Burgh, to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and through their daughter to the De Mortimers, Earls of March. On the death of Edmund in 1425, his nephew Richard, Duke of York, succeeded to the Irish titles, and on his death on the field of battle in 1460, the estates, such as they were, vested in the Crown in the person of Edward IV. The Treasury at Trim was the repository of the records, rolls and inquisitions of these lordships, but unfortunately some time before 1495 the records in the Treasury were taken and embezzled, and though penalties were enacted for withholding them, very little effect seems to have been produced. The Desmond estates were all forfeited by rebellion in 1582, and his vast territories vested in the Crown, but no records of his liberty have been preserved. An attempt was now to be made to govern Connaught and Munster by means of presidents and councils. The first president of Munster was appointed in 1568 and of Connaught in 1569, and the extent of their jurisdiction was very large; the presidents and councils had power

> "to hear and determine by their discretions all manner of complaints and petitions, concerning as well the title of lands, as of all personal and mixed actions, causes and matters, civil or criminal; have commission, power and authority of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery in as large and ample manner as any such commission or authority is granted in England; to execute martial law, etc."

Unfortunately the records of these presidencies which had such extensive powers and lasted for over a hundred years, till 1672, have disappeared. Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, writing to the Earl of Clarendon 27 April 1663, reported

the loss of all the records and ancient orders and rules of the Presidency Court of Munster through the rebellion of 1641, while of the records of the subsequent period, as well as those of the whole of the Connaught Presidency, absolutely nothing is known except that there is in the British Museum a Council Book for Munster for the years 1601–21. The liberty of Tipperary did not come to an end till later, when in 1715 the jurisdiction reverted to the Crown through the attainder of James Duke of Ormonde, but in this case the legal records were removed to Dublin and divided between the Chancery and the Court of Common Pleas.

Thus the Birmingham Tower seems to have been almost the sole secure place of repository, though it only contained the rolls. Other documents connected with the legal or financial administration of the country were kept in the private houses of the officers or in houses hired by them for that purpose, with disastrous results. The White Book of the Exchequer perished in the fire which consumed the house where many of the documents of the Rolls Office were kept in 1610. Wentworth was so impressed with the dangers attendant on such a want of method in keeping important documents that in 1636 he induced the King to supply money to build a Rolls Court and Court of Wards at the King's Inns, situated on the land of the dissolved monastery of Black Friars, on the north side of the river. This building was the first attempt at providing a public repository for records outside Dublin Castle by the Central Government.

During the troublesome period of the Rebellion and the consequential state of unrest which ensued, Birmingham Tower continued to be the safest place for important documents, and many legal records were transferred there temporarily, but many of the documents of the time connected with the Courts established for deciding the innocency or guilt of people during the Rebellion have utterly disappeared.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, an important change was effected by the establishment of the Paper Office. It had been the habit of lord-lieutenants, secretaries of state, and chief secretaries, on leaving the country, to take with them all their official documents, and in consequence the incoming governor had little to guide him in the way of precedent. Lord Capel had suggested, in 1695, that a Paper Office should be created, and offered to commence with his own papers. After some hesitation on the part of the English Government, on the petition of Joshua Dawson, under-secretary, who evidently felt hampered by the absence of important documents, a Paper Office was set up in 1702, for the keeping of copies or duplicates of books of entries, wherein any Kings' or Queens' Letters, warrants, orders, petitions and other letters belonging to the Secretaries' Offices (private letters only excepted) were to be entered. This office became, in effect, a record department of the Chief Secretary's Office, and preserved copies of official and departmental orders and letters, the originals of which seemed still to be the property of the Chief Governor or his secretary. A cursory glance at the Calendar of Carte MSS. shows how much they contain of what are really government papers, while the Historical MSS. Commission Reports constantly disclose the whereabouts of state documents which officials persisted in regarding as their private property.

Returning again to the Birmingham Tower, an incident occurred about this time, the beginning of the eighteenth century, which is worth noting in connection with the records in that depository. When Lord Wharton was appointed lord-lieutenant in 1708, he chose as his chief secretary, Joseph Addison, who was a diplomatist as well as an essayist. The choice was a peculiar one as Wharton was a notorious profligate, while Addison's character and temperament were known to be entirely different. However, when Addison arrived, he did what was almost without exception the custom of chief secretaries in that century;

that is, he looked around for some sinecure office to supplement the considerable emoluments he would receive from fees pertaining to his office. When it is stated that such fees, in his time, amounted to about £2,000 a year, it will be evident that the chief secretaryship was a much coveted post. Addison fixed his choice on the office of Keeper of the Records in Birmingham Tower, which he obtained without much difficulty, but, as the official salary was only £10 a year, he immediately petitioned the Crown for an increase. His petition is worth quoting as showing that he was well aware of the duties of a keeper. He stated

"that he (petitioner) is in possession of the office of Keeper of our Records in Birmingham Tower, which is of great consequence to the public, being the proper Repository for the Records of that Kingdom, and that to make the said office thoroughly useful, it is necessary that the papers and Records there should be carefully examined, methodically digested, faithfully transcribed, and referred to in proper Catalogues, which will require several heads and a diligent attendance, and, therefore, most humbly prays that a Salary may be annexed to it suitable to the importance, expense and trouble thereof."

Addison's petition was granted, and the salary increased from £10 to £400, which also was increased later on to £500, a salary he enjoyed almost to the end of his life, but he left the work to be done by deputy. When the Record Commissioners took over the contents of the Tower in 1813, none of these indexes were forthcoming, and it is doubtful whether they ever were made. As to the immense value and importance of these records, containing as they did the patent, plea, pipe and memoranda rolls, Addison was correct, yet it is strange to find Dean Swift, who lived in his deanery about five minutes' walk from the Tower, writing in his Fourth Drapier's Letter,

"Mr. Addison was forced to purchase an old obscure Place, called Keeper of the Records of Birmingham's Tower of Ten Pounds a year, and to get a Sallery of 400*l* annexed to it, though

all the Records there are not worth Half a Crown either for Curiosity or Use."

At this time, too, viz. in 1708, a Registry of Deeds was established, and given a home in Dublin Castle.

Very shortly after this incident, the country was to suffer a great loss in the destruction by fire of the Custom House in 1711, more especially as it was the home of the Privy Council. All the documents of this important body, which had for many years had the government of Ireland in its hands, were destroyed, with the exception of the Council Books of the Protectorate period, which by some marvel escaped. The Council office had originally been held in the Castle, but by an order of 1655, it was transferred to the new Custom House, which lay outside the Castle on Essex Quay, but, after the fire, the Privy Council returned to its old quarters where it remained till 1922. In this disastrous fire, the records of the Surveyor-General's office, which included the Gross, Civil, and Down Surveys, were also nearly all consumed, as well as many of the books, documents, etc., connected with the Commissions under the Act of Settlement and the Court of Claims, which had been deposited with the Surveyor-General in 1671. This event seems to have aroused the nation, and for years both Houses of Parliament passed, at intervals, recommendations for the safer custody of the public records; yet nothing was done, notwithstanding that a fire broke out in the Birmingham Tower about 1758, by which the plea rolls of James I and Charles I were burnt, and that in that year John Lodge, deputy-keeper of the rolls, reported on the Rolls office in these words :

" The office, in which the said Parliament Rolls and the Chancery Records are deposited, is in a very ruinous state, being supported by props from top to Bottom. The Weight of the Pleadings is so great that there is reason to fear the sinking of the Floors, which would fall in, should the props give way. The Roof is shored up from end to end, and in danger of falling in by every high wind. The Slates are stripped by every Storm

and the windows cannot be kept in repair, so that the Records daily suffer by Dust and Moisture. The whole Building is so shook by Tempests that the Clerks have quitted their Desks through fear and locked up the Office."[1]

At last Parliament was induced to take steps to preserve the legal records, for in 1786 a new building for the Law Courts was commenced. These Courts had originally been held in Dublin Castle and when their position became intolerable through the state of dilapidation into which they were allowed to grow, to say nothing of their being situated over a gunpowder store, they were furnished with new quarters beside Christ Church Cathedral in 1607, though the officials still kept their documents in their own or other houses. Here the Courts remained till 1796, when the need for new Law Courts and public offices for the law documents had forced Parliament to build, and they were erected on the site of the King's Inns, on the north side of the river. At last, the legal records had an official home of their own. It was a great advance, but it will be noticed that the concern manifested for the safety of the records showed itself rather in the desire for the preservation of government and legal documents than of those of local and other repositories.

The appointment of a Commission of Public Records for Great Britain in 1800 had important consequences for the sister country, for the sub-commissioners appointed in 1806 to search for charters and statutes in England extended their investigations to Ireland, and not only reported on the charters and statutes found by them there, but also drew up observations on the condition, arrangement and future preservation of the Irish records. These were presented to His Majesty by the Commons of the United Kingdom, and, in reply to their request, a Commission was appointed 30 August 1810 similar to the English one, and not a subordinate Commission as recommended by Lord Redesdale. The Irish Commis-

[1] Parliamentary Reports (Records, No. 18). Pub. Rec. Office, Ireland.

sion followed very closely in the steps of the English Commission and queries were sent out not only to the offices of the administration in Dublin, but all over the country, comprising offices of state, courts of Justice, courts of inferior jurisdiction, municipal and ecclesiastical courts, cathedrals, the university, etc., with the purpose of obtaining information as to (1) the state of the buildings, (2) the degree in which the catalogues, calendars and indexes were complete, and (3) the number, duties and remuneration of the officers. This was the first attempt at a general stock-taking of the records of the country, and at discovering the evils which had affected the custody of the records in the past, with a view to suggestions for their better preservation in the future. But important as was this work, scarcely less important was the work which the Record Commissioners then undertook in drawing up lists, making indexes, and printing calendars which would enable the student to study these records in libraries, and places far removed from the original records. The want of indexes had been a scandal, partly caused by the fact that an officer could exact a much higher fee for searching through the originals than if he had an index to assist him. During the period the Commission was in existence, it not only calendared and published the Patent and Close Rolls (Edward II–Henry VIII and part of James I), the Act of Settlement Rolls, the Chancery Inquisitions for Leinster and Ulster, the *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates*, and other matter, but also transcribed the Statute Rolls, the remainder of the Chancery and Exchequer Inquisitions, many entries on the Plea, Pipe and Memoranda Rolls, and the *Acta Regia Hibernica*, with the intention of publishing them later on. Also they compiled many lists and indexes. It is no exaggeration to say that the benefits of the appointment of this Commission to Ireland were incalculable, and much more so now that the originals have perished. The Commission reduced order out of chaos, enabled many records to be traced which had escaped from their proper

home, and rendered accessible to the public much from which they had been shut off by the indifference or ignorance of the custodians. For twenty years the Commissioners pursued their task with wonderful results, but at last the Treasury exigencies brought their labours to an end. We may criticise their work, which according to modern ideas leaves much to be desired. In the calendars of Patent and Close Rolls the contents of many a membrane have been compressed into three or four lines of indifferent Latin, and the want of knowledge of the Gaelic tongue has rendered the transcription of place-names often unintelligible, yet all the same they stopped a dry rot which was slowly but surely eating away the muniments of Ireland.

On the abolition of the offices of Auditor-General and other Exchequer offices in 1822, a Record Branch of the Vice-Treasurer's Office was formed in the Custom House to have the custody of the records of the dissolved offices. This was developed in 1832 into a Public Record Office for all the records connected with the Land Revenue. Gradually other records were deposited there, such as the records of the Surveyor-General of Crown Lands in 1838; of the Remembrancer and Clerk of the First Fruits, etc., in 1833; Vice-Treasurer and Teller of the Exchequer in 1837; Irish Record Commissioners proceedings in 1839; Forfeiture (1688) office in 1840, Relief Commission Books and Papers in 1848, also Agricultural Statistics, Census Returns, and other collections. This office became known as the Landed Estates Record Office, and was ably conducted by Mr. Harding.

But, though the Irish Record Commissioners had ceased to exist, the need for supervision and regulation of the public records was still apparent. In 1848, Commissioners were appointed to enquire into the state of the records of the Court of Exchequer and other public records, and much good work was done at this time by Mr. J. F. Ferguson, secretary to the Commission, and Mr. William Lynch (author of *Feudal Dignities*), who transcribed many entries

on the Memoranda Rolls, and in the old Rule and Order Books of that Court; these were bought from Mr. Ferguson's representatives on his death, and have been preserved in the Public Record Office. The Commissioners recommended that, following the precedent of the English Act of 1 & 2 Vic. c. 94, the Public Records of Ireland should be placed under the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, and a Public Record Office built, a proposal which was to be put into effect in a few years.

Meanwhile Messrs. Hatchell and Morrin, clerks of the enrolments in the Rolls Office, were doing some good work, for the former calendared the Patent Rolls of William IV, and the Disentailing Deed Rolls, while the latter completed the calendar of James I, and also calendared the rolls for Henry VIII–Elizabeth, and 1–8 Charles I, which work was violently attacked by Sir John T. Gilbert, writing under the name of "Archivist." His attack, however, was not found in general to be substantiated.

When the Public Record Act (Ireland) of 1867 was passed, there were four record repositories in Dublin: the Four Courts with its legal records, the Landed Estates Record Office in the Custom House, the Record Tower in Dublin Castle, and the Registry of Deeds. The Record Tower, which had received the rolls from the Birmingham Tower, was also the home of Ulster King of Arms, and so we find Sir William Betham filling the posts of both deputy-keeper of the State Papers and Ulster King of Arms; and his successor, J. Bernard Burke (afterwards knighted) enjoyed the same titles for a time, but on the death of Earl Stanhope, the last of the sinecure holders of the post of Keeper, Burke was appointed to that office.

The establishment of a Public Record Office in England had made the absence of such an office in Ireland all the more remarkable. The Commissioners of 1848 had drawn attention to the need of a Record Office, and the inspection of the old Pipe and Memoranda Rolls in the Exchequer was sufficient to suggest the desirability of a central record

office, where the documents of the country could be stored, and kept in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, who would employ a body of clerks to arrange them and make them available to the public. One of the disadvantages of the old system was that the keeper of any body of records was more interested in those of a recent date which might be required to be searched for legal and other purposes, and which would be productive of fees. Neither he nor his clerks paid much attention to the more ancient documents, which were sometimes in a language and handwriting they did not understand. When documents ceased to be written in Norman French, it can easily be understood that the knowledge of that language amongst law clerks and others soon became a thing of the past. Archbishop King, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, emphasised this disability. "I have sev^{ll}. things out of y^{e} Old Rolls" he wrote "and there are no clerks in y^{t} or any other offices y^{t} I can find can understand old french, this makes y^{e} matter very troublesome," and again "not one clerke in the Rolls knew where anything was or coud read or understand it when found." Another reason for erecting a Record Office was that many of the repositories throughout the country were crowded with documents, often blocking up the passages, and there was a tendency to get rid of the "old rubbish." Consequently the need became so insistent that a large building was erected by the Board of Works, and an Act was passed in 1867 (30 & 31 Vic. c. 70) for the establishment of a Public Record Office of Ireland, modelled to a considerable extent on the Act passed for England in 1838. The first deputy-keeper to be appointed was Dr. Samuel Ferguson (afterwards Sir Samuel), poet, lawyer and antiquarian, while the clerkships were filled up partly by men taken from the different law offices and the Landed Estates Record Office, so that the benefit of their knowledge of their own documents might be availed of in the new office and the continuity of the custody be preserved, and partly by examination. Under

the same Act, Sir J. Bernard Burke, Ulster, was continued Keeper of the State Papers in the Record Tower under the Master of the Rolls, and on his death in 1892 the office merged in that of the deputy-keeper of the Public Records. Sir Bernard Burke showed a remarkable aptitude for the arrangement and indexing of records, and the Government had sent him to France in 1866 to report on the methods employed there by the French archivists; when he was so impressed by their system of arranging records in carton boxes that he introduced it into the Tower. After the passing of the Public Records Act in 1867 he presented every year to the Master of the Rolls reports on the work done in his office, which are of great value now that the originals have perished. As may be guessed from his genealogical training, he was quick to seize on the personal side of the records. The collection in his charge comprehended the old rolls (pipe, plea, etc.) formerly in the Birmingham Tower, the Parliamentary papers, and documents of the old Record Commission of 1810–30, and of the State Paper Department, being documents and books transferred from the Chief Secretary's Office and the Council Office, all which in course of time were transferred to the Public Record Office.

As soon as the Record Building was ready, the records poured in in great quantities from the offices in Dublin which I have mentioned above (except those of the Registry of Deeds) as being the most important and the nearest at hand: followed by the enormous contents of the Testamentary collections throughout the country, which, under the Probate Act of 20 & 21 Vic. c. 79, had been deposited in the Principal and District Registries of the Court of Probate. Extinct commissions also contributed their share, and amongst the most important was the Commission of Church Temporalities in Ireland, which, created under the Disestablishment Act of the Church of Ireland, had called upon the different registries of the Consistorial Courts to deposit with it the deeds and papers

respecting Church property in Ireland; while the records of the extinct jurisdictions of the Court of Delegates, and the liberties of the Archbishop of Dublin and of Tipperary, were transferred to the Public Record Office under the powers of the Act. But apart from the collections specified or comprehended by this Act, power was given to the Lord-Lieutenant by means of an Order in Council to order the transfer of any documents considered fit to be lodged in the Record Office, and under such an Order the vast collection of the Clerks of the Crown and Peace throughout Ireland, containing the criminal, civil and financial administration of the various counties was transferred. The importance of such for the county history of the country is hard to over-estimate.

An important addition to the above collections was made by the Act 38 & 39 Vic. c. 59, whereby the registers of the parishes of the late Established Church of Ireland were brought under the control of the Master of the Rolls and were, upon the death or resignation of the person who was the parochial officer on the 31st December, 1870, to be removed to the Record Office. Fortunately, as it afterwards turned out, great opposition was made to this Act, and an amending Act of 39 & 40 Vic. c. 58 passed, by which the Master of the Rolls might permit any parish registers which would have been attachable under the former Act, to remain in the charge of the incumbent of the parish, if satisfied that they were kept in a fit and safe building, and that due provision was made for their custody; it being obligatory on the incumbent to make a return to the Master of the Rolls every year that the registers were safe and in proper condition. A large number of incumbents availed themselves of this concession, and their annual returns were an effective check on any register going astray, but the registers of about half the parishes of Ireland were lodged in the Record Office.

For fifty-four years the work went on of arranging, indexing, and calendaring the large amount of material,

and rendering it available for the legal profession and the general public. Every year the documents in the various public offices throughout Ireland which had arrived at twenty years of age were automatically transferred to the Record Office, when suddenly the work was brought to an end by the entry of the irregular forces into the building on the 13th April, 1922.

I come now to the second part of my paper which deals with the destruction of this valuable collection, and it will perhaps assist my listeners in visualising the catastrophe, if I briefly describe the building in which the records were housed.

The Record Office was situated at the west end of the Four Courts, and entirely isolated, there being a considerable space between it and any surrounding building. It was built of cut granite and consisted of two parts, a Record House and a Record Treasury. The Record House formed three sides of a square, four stories high, enclosing a large central apartment designed for a Public Reading and Search Room, lighted from the roof. The rooms round this central hall were given up to searchers, officials and clerks, together with a library, whilst some of the top rooms and all the basement were allocated to the foreman and office keeper for a residence. Leading off the Search Room was a Strong Room, in which indexes in constant use were stored, and which served to hold records which were kept out for searchers. Separated from the Record House by an open area ten feet wide, across which a covered bridge was thrown, closed by iron doors at each end, was the Record Treasury, a building consisting of a single apartment 140 feet long, 80 feet wide and 50 feet high. A large area or nave traversed the whole length of the building, and from this nave access was obtained to the bays on each side of the Treasury by means of a central staircase. Underneath this large hall was a basement, vaulted, with a central corridor and lateral bays.

The Record Office had been once before occupied by

rebel forces, when the Sinn Feiners evicted the caretaker during the Easter holiday, 1916, but it was only for a day or two, and no damage was done. Still, this incident and the state of unrest in which the country was plunged caused the Master of the Rolls and the officials great anxiety as to the possibility of danger, and every reasonable precaution was taken to ensure the safety of the records. The Public Record Office, which had been a reserved service under the Government of Ireland (1920) Act, was handed over to the Provisional Government of Ireland as from the 1st April, 1922, and on the night of Thursday, 13th April of that year, irregular military forces took possession of the Four Courts, including the Public Record Office. The house-keeper was allowed to continue in residence till the 30th of that month, when he was compelled to leave the premises, and from that date till the 30th June, the rebels retained possession of the Record House and Treasury, the latter of which was turned into a manufactory for bombs, for which the large spacious building of the Treasury made it particularly suitable. The question then arose as to what to do with the staff. The loan of several officers and clerks had been already made to the Provisional Government who were in need of trained men for the new administration, but, upon the occupation of the Record Office on the 13th April, the remainder of the staff were granted the use of a room in the Government Buildings, Merrion Square, for a few days; then, as the accommodation was required by the ministry, most of the remaining staff were detailed for service in the other departments, and only a skeleton service left, which, working in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, was sufficient to deal with the small amount of business to be done. Here we sat in patience awaiting the development of events. Towards the end of June, the Provisional Government decided to drive out the irregulars by force, and on Wednesday, the 28th June, they attacked the Four Courts with artillery. The end could not long be delayed.

On Friday, the 30th June, a tremendous explosion announced the conclusion of the business. The Four Courts lay in ruins. But it is with the Record Office that we are most concerned. The Record House escaped marvellously, and most of the damage it sustained was produced by the artillery fire which had been directed on it during the preceding days in the attempt to drive the irregulars out, but the Record Treasury, the home of a magnificent collection of records dating back to the thirteenth century, was not so lightly let off. It had been set on fire earlier in the day by an explosion which occurred probably under the Land Judges' Court just opposite, but the explosion of two heavy mines in the Record Treasury itself at 2.15 and 2.16 p.m. in the afternoon, sealed its fate. Of the large building, nothing but the four walls, roofless and windowless, containing a mass of distorted and tangled ironwork and debris, met the gaze when it was possible to get near enough to survey the scene. The rest of the contents had either been consumed by the intense heat, or, as happened with some of the records on the top story, scattered by the winds of heaven over the city and suburbs, some being found on the Hill of Howth, seven miles distant from the city. The vaults were not damaged, but the contents of one side, containing a great bulk of Revenue Exchequer books and papers, were reduced to mere flakes ; the centre and the east side were occupied by deeds boxes belonging to the Land Judges' Office, which were only partially consumed. Hopes which were entertained that, when the debris came to be removed, many documents might be found to have survived, were doomed to disappointment, and the only remains of the Treasury contents were some rolls, with their membranes glued together by the heat, which the bursting of a portion of the wall had thrust out into the area, and the Land Judges' boxes mentioned above. The heat was so intense that nothing inside could survive. The Record House was evidently saved by the intervening space between it and the Treasury, and, as Mr. Morrissey

says in his last report on the Public Records, the isolation space between the Record House and Record Treasury proved to be effective, though rather in the opposite way from what was intended, as the design was to prevent a fire starting in the Record House from spreading into the Treasury, whereas in fact it prevented a fire starting in the Treasury from reaching the Record House. The artillery fire from Church Street on the west side had broken some of the wall, and the bullets had played havoc with the indexes in the Search Room, but it was soon possible to make some clearance and so have some spot where the debris from outside could be brought in and sorted so far as was possible. The Strong Room, however, had escaped damage.

The Provisional Government issued, on the Monday following, a notice to the public. It said:

"The explosion caused by the reckless action of the irregular forces in the Four Courts has destroyed a vast quantity of public records of all kinds. It has come to the notice of the Government that fragments of some of the records, partly burned, were blown to other districts, and that some of them have been picked up by members of the public. It is very important that all such fragments be restored to the public custody. The Government, therefore, appeals to every one who may find, or know of the finding of, documents or parts of documents, however fragmentary or damaged, whether they be documents of title deeds, accounts, books, census returns or legal records of any kind, to carefully preserve the same, preferably in envelopes, and to deliver the same up to the Government at an office, which will be opened for the purpose and announced in a few days."

But the response was ridiculously small, and it is more than likely that such records as were picked up have been kept as mementoes of a remarkable occasion.

I come now to the third part of my paper, which includes not only an account of such records as have been saved, but also some suggestions as to how the body of public records may be reconstructed from duplicates or copies which may be found in other repositories or which have fortunately been printed.

As I have said above, nothing remains of the records in the Record Treasury except some deeds boxes belonging to the Land Registry, and some rolls which were forced out of the building by the explosion, but these are so badly burned that it is doubtful whether many can be of any use. To these may be added a few documents, which being in use at the time, were deposited in the Strong Room, and so preserved. In the Library upstairs the transcripts of the Carte Papers in the Bodleian were untouched, and by a curious irony of fate, some bound volumes of records (Will Books, I think) which had been taken from the Treasury to make a barricade for the windows in the Library and Secretary's Office, were saved and thus escaped the destiny of their fellows in the Treasury.

Apart from these, anything saved is to be found in the Search Room or Strong Room. In the first, fortunately, are transcripts made by the Record Commissioners, including transcripts of Inquisitions (Chancery and Exchequer) from Henry VI to William III, which, although not perfect as there are many omissions and also gaps where the transcribers could not decipher the original, are now of great importance in view of the loss of the originals. The deeds, wills and other instruments set out in these Inquisitions were copied separately by the Commissioners, and they also are available. There are also forty-three volumes of transcripts of the Memoranda Rolls from 1280 to Henry VII (which contain some Plea Rolls); twelve volumes of transcripts of Plea Rolls, 1252–1306, 1317–18, comprising Justiciary Rolls, Rolls of Justices Itinerant, Common Bench Rolls, and one Exchequer Roll; transcripts of Regal and Visitation Books, 1607–34; repertories of Chancery (28 Henry VIII–1836) and Exchequer (1624–1804) Decrees, giving the curial part of the decree; transcripts of Charters and King's Letters taken from the Patent Rolls from time of James I to James II; and lastly the transcripts from the Patent Rolls of James I which the Commissioners called *Acta Regia Hibernica*. It was their intention to extract

in full all the more important State Papers to be found in the Public Records, and to print them in a series similar to Rymer's *Fœdera*, but the work was never completed, and the rest of the material which was prepared for that purpose and was in the Treasury perished in the flames.

But we are indebted to another Commission, namely that issued to inquire into the records of the Court of Exchequer, 1848–50, and to the industry of the secretary, James F. Ferguson, for a valuable collection of extracts from that Court which were purchased from his executors and placed for use in the Public Search Room. There are eight volumes of collections from the Memoranda Rolls, from Edward I to Anne; eight volumes of repertories to the same rolls from Edward III to Charles II, with an index; repertories and indexes to Originalia and Communia Rolls, 1605–1734; calendar and index to Inquisitions; extracts from Equity Exchequer Order Books of the Chief Remembrancer, 1604–73, and calendar to Order Books of the Second Remembrancer, 1592–1666, together with repertories to Adventurers' Certificates and Decrees of Innocents, and a volume called "Exchequer Records, Edward III–Anne" which is a sort of commonplace book, in index order, to entries on the Memoranda and other rolls, and contains very much useful genealogical and other information. The remainder of the books in the Search Room consist of calendars and indexes for the use of the public; and of these the indexes to wills, grants and bonds (both administration and marriage licence) will be found useful.

In the Strong Room, which leads off the Search Room, and which is mainly used for indexes which the public frequently want to consult, but which are too valuable to be left in the Public Search Room, are the Judgment Books of the three Courts, from 1851–99 (except those of the Common Pleas, which came to an end in 1877), which contain the essential part of the judgment, viz. the names

of the plaintiffs and defendants, the amount and nature of the judgment, and the costs; the Bill Books, being indexes to the English bills, answers and informations in Chancery, dating from 1561–1877, continued as Statements of Claim under the Judicature Act of 1877; and for the equity side of the Exchequer from 1674–1850, when this side of the Exchequer ceased to exist; but all these Chancery and Exchequer indexes are of very little use now that the bills have perished. Also there are Records of Proceedings and of Conveyances in the Incumbered, Landed Estates and Land Judges' Courts, 1849–1901; indexes to Parliamentary records, and a few miscellaneous documents which, being in use at the time, were kept in the Strong Room. But the most important part of its contents, in view of recent events, are the volumes called "Lodge's MSS." John Lodge was a Lancashire man, who went to Ireland in the early part of the eighteenth century. He became Deputy-Clerk of the Rolls and Deputy-Keeper of the Records in the Birmingham Tower, and being possessed of great energy and genealogical tastes, his activity found ample scope amongst the rolls of Chancery and the Tower in his charge. Subsequent to his death in 1774, the Government purchased in 1783 his valuable manuscripts by granting his widow and son pensions for life. The volumes were at first deposited in the Chief Secretary's Office, but on the request of the Record Commissioners in 1811, they were transferred to the Record Tower, from whence they came to the Public Record Office in 1893. A brief account of the contents of these volumes will show how useful they will be in filling up the blank left by the destruction of the original documents from which Lodge drew his information. Some of the volumes contain extracts from the Patent and Close Rolls dealing with grants of offices from 1513–1772, often quoting the portion of the grant dealing with the institution of the office, and the particular reasons for making the grant; also giving not only the reference to the Patent Roll but also the date of entry in the signet and

docket offices. These volumes were used by Lascelles when compiling his *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae* and he brought down the entries to the nineteenth century. It is hardly likely that this work, which is invaluable to students of Irish history, would have been undertaken if Lascelles had not been able to make use of Lodge's labours. But besides grants of offices, he extracted an enormous number of entries about public acts, letters and instruments, denization, general pardons, wardships, liveries, alienations, articles with Irish chiefs and many other of the miscellaneous items with which the rolls are full. I have mentioned above that the calendars of Patent and Close Rolls, Edward II–Henry VII, often contained only the briefest indication of the contents of the entry, couched in indifferent Latin. Lodge, happily, gives us many of these entries with fuller detail than the Commissioners. As an instance I may quote one case from his abstracts. In his Miscellaneous Enrolments occurs the following:

"And by Commission of the same date (i.e. 14 Janry. 138½) William Sygyn and John Galvy were appointed Admirals in all the Ports of the County of Corke, with power to arrest all Ships, Boats and Vessels, the Masters, Mariners, and other defensible men of the said County able to man the same, to fight by God's Assistance the nation of the Hiderscoles (O'Driscolls), Irish Enemies, who constantly remained upon the Western Ocean, and to their utmost destroyed the Passengers; to fine all refractory persons and expend their Fines on the said wars, 5^{d} Ric. 2. 1^{d} p.d. R. 7."

The Record Commissioners contented themselves with reducing this to the meagre entry of "19 Rx con' Wil' Sygyn & Joh' Galvy admirallos in q͡bcūq' portub' inf' co' Cork. T. ut 3'." With reference to this collection of Lodge, Sir J. Bernard Burke, writing to Sir T. Duffus Hardy in 1864, said: "All these MSS. are of infinite public utility, but especially the 'Records of the Rolls,' a work which seems to me as near perfection as any production of the kind can be. Is it not a grievous pity that, possessing

as we do such a repertory, we do not print and publish it in its integrity ? "

This reference to Lodge's MSS. leads me naturally to the subject of how far the serious loss of the original records in the P.R.O. can be made good from outside sources or printed material. The Patent and Close Rolls of Ireland contained a large amount of information about that country, and the appointments of officials bulked very largely in that series. Here Lodge and Lascelles come to our aid, and although the latter arranged his work very badly, all the same it is a work which no student of Irish history could neglect, and is now a necessity. So, too, the Record Commissioners did good work in printing calendars of some of the Rolls, which work was carried on afterwards by Messrs. Hatchell and Morrin. The Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons have been printed, so that, but for the loss of the splendid bindings, we do not suffer much by losing the originals. But for the continuation of the work, we must look to the staff of the Public Record Office. The Justiciary Rolls, 23–35 Edward I, were edited by Mr. James Mills, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and it is difficult to over-estimate the value of these two volumes for elucidating the working and development of the judicial system in Ireland in that reign. Even whilst the originals were in existence, these volumes performed a great service in making the contents of the rolls accessible to students all over the country, and especially to those whose knowledge of Latin is so slight that a transcription of those rolls in the original language would have been useless. This work had been continued by other officials down to 11 Edward II, and though remaining in MSS. in the office, will probably never reach the dignity of print. Under the direction also of the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Henry F. Berry, another official, has edited the Statute Rolls down to 12 Edward IV. The rolls anterior to the reign of Henry VI had disappeared, but by means of the Red Book of the Exchequer and other sources, he

has partly reconstructed those rolls back to the time of John. By printing the original Latin or Norman French on the one side and a translation on the other he has made the work useful for those who are unacquainted with those languages. Fortunately the continuation of this work to the time of Henry VII was being proceeded with, and so the transcripts of the original rolls from 12 Edward IV to 8 Henry VII have been preserved. It was intended to stop the work at the reign of Henry VII, as this was the period at which the use of Norman French ceased; from thence till 1572, when Sidney produced the first printed volume of the Irish Statutes, parliaments were very few and far between, so that probably the country has suffered very little loss by the destruction of the original rolls. It is hoped that the Free State Government will consent to the publication of the remaining transcripts of the rolls to the reign of Henry VII.

Except these, none of the public records were published separately under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, but every year the Deputy-Keeper made his report to him on the working of the Office during that period, and several appendices to these reports will be now found to have an increased value. The calendar of Fiants from Henry VIII to Elizabeth has done much to fill up the gaps in the defective series of Patent Rolls for that period. These Fiants correspond to the signed bills in the Public Record Office (London), and were a necessary step in the proceedings which led up to the letters patent. The calendars contain all the essential points in the fiants and the loss of the originals can now be regarded with composure. When it is understood that for the reign of Elizabeth, there were nearly 7,000 fiants, one can understand the immense labour which was required to extract the details from the documents often stained by exposure and in many cases almost illegible. They are of great interest, and many of them, being grants of pardon, set out by name the occupants of whole districts. Next in importance come the catalogues

of accounts on the Pipe Rolls, 13 Henry III to 22 Edward III, made by Mr. M. J. McEnery, assistant keeper. These catalogues record the principal items paid into the Exchequer, and do not pretend to be calendars, for they pass over with a very brief notice items of great interest and importance. For example, in the account of William de Meones of corn and provisions to be bought at Cork, Youghal, Waterford and Dungarvan (26 Edward I), after a bare statement of the difference between the amount received from the Treasury and the amount expended, the editor adds, "These accounts are extremely interesting; they show what were the principal articles of food at the time; their prices, the places whence obtained and the steps taken to provide commissariat for armies and garrisons"; and again, in another account, "This account is very interesting as showing how men were recruited at this time, and where the Government obtained its soldiers" (3 Edward II). These notes make us feel how much we have lost in the destruction of these Pipe Rolls, and what a flood of light their preservation would have thrown on the economic life in Ireland in the middle ages. The same officer has also calendared the deeds which came from Christ Church Cathedral, the ancient priory of the Holy Trinity of the Order of Augustinian Canons, which dated back to 1174; some of which were copied into the *Novum Registrum* of Christ Church. This calendar only extends to 1600, but the continuation up to 1700 has been completed, and remains in MSS. in the Record Office. Amongst the other appendices to the Deputy-Keeper's Reports I cannot omit those lists of the contents of the Dublin Consistorial Grant Books from 1638 to 1858, and published in the appendices to the 26th and 30th Reports, as they contain a list of all the grants of probate and administration, marriage licences, bonds, etc., for the whole of the diocese of Dublin, and though the original grant books contained some further information, such as executors, etc., yet these lists are of enormous importance to the genealogist.

The Record Office contained very few records written in Gaelic, but the four documents of that nature, being awards of the brehons, have been printed with translations in a Report of the Deputy-Keeper.

But to the numerous literary searchers, who, for over half a century, have been seeking material for their studies in the Record Office, we must be grateful, for much of the result of their research has appeared in print, and thus copies of many a document have been preserved. The Huguenot Registers of the French Conformist Churches in St. Patrick's and St. Mary's, and of the Nonconformist Churches in Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin, have been printed and published by The Huguenot Society under the editorship of Mr. T. P. Le Fanu, C.B. The Council Orders and Orders of the Commissioners for the affairs of Ireland during the Protectorate, or rather a selection of them, have been published under the editorship of Mr. Dunlop. Hill's *Plantation of Ulster* contains a copy of Pynnar's Survey; Begley's *Diocese of Limerick* contains the Rental of Connello, 31 Henry VI; Burke's *History of Clonmel* reproduces many documents found in the Record Office which deal with that town; the Hearth Money Rolls of several counties have been privately printed; while the Journals of the various Historical and Antiquarian Societies present an eloquent testimony to the usefulness of the Record Office. The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland has published as a separate number an Account Roll of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin (one of the Christ Church Deeds), which, apart from the interest in the document itself, contained scribblings upon the back, which, after much labour, Mr. Mills deciphered, and found to be a copy of one of the earliest mystery plays hitherto discovered; and in the Journals will be found transcripts of many valuable documents. The Cork Antiquarian Society has published the Pipe Roll of St. Colman, and all the societies have drawn extensively upon the resources of the Public Records. The *Archivium Hibernicum* contains transcripts

of the wills of Irish Roman Catholic bishops found in the Record Office. It will be a useful and interesting work for some student to wade through all the Irish antiquarian publications and note any copies of public records appearing in those publications.

But, fortunately, all the public or semi-public records of Ireland have not been concentrated in the Public Record Office. In the first place, the Record Tower still contains all the papers of the Privy Council and Chief Secretary's offices, which had been transferred there, and which could not be removed to the Record Office till they were over fifty years of age, and had been properly arranged and indexed; in consequence, the departmental papers stored there, and which had not fulfilled the above requirements, have been preserved, thus saving nearly a century of State Papers from the flames. Also in the Tower is a great collection of papers connected with the Rebellion of 1798, which have mostly been catalogued. Then, too, there is the Registry of Deeds in Dublin, established in 1708 to register memorials of deeds, wills and other conveyances relating to landed property in Ireland. For some reason, this Office was not brought within the scope of the Public Records Act, and has continued to remain in separate custody, and we may congratulate ourselves that this great body of deeds affecting property in Ireland has escaped destruction. In the case of the District Registries of Probate, although they had to transfer their original wills, as soon as they became twenty years old, to the Record Office, they were allowed to retain their transcripts, so that, in nearly all these cases, the transcripts of the wills back to 1858 are in existence, though the originals in the Record Office have perished. A class of documents which, though not records under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, narrowly escaped being transferred to the Record Office, are those of Ulster King of Arms, in the Bedford Tower, Dublin Castle. A week or so before the irregulars entered into occupation of the

Four Courts, I received a letter from the Provisional Government directing that the documents in Ulster's Office should be removed to the Record Office, and that I should make arrangements with the officials of the office for the transfer. Fortunately, Sir Nevile R. Wilkinson, Ulster, was absent from Dublin at the time, and the matter had to be held over till he could be communicated with. But before anything could be done, the matter settled itself by the occupation of the Record Office by the irregulars. Otherwise, this valuable collection of genealogical documents would have suffered the same fate as the rest of the records. The Quit Rent Office, though it had transferred many of its records to the Record Office, yet has triplicates and duplicates of Crown and Quit Rent and other conveyances dealing with crown property, and especially properly certified copies of the very valuable Civil Survey, the originals of which have perished, while the Board of Works possess duplicates of drainage awards and maps, and also those in connection with the Railways Act of 1851.

Documents of a public nature have ever had a tendency to escape from their proper custody in the past, and the history of the public records in England as well as in Ireland testifies to the carelessness of custodians, the selfishness of collectors, and the inclination of officials to regard their official documents as their own private property. But by good fortune and official watchfulness many of these documents have come to rest in our big Libraries. In Dublin, Trinity College possesses a collection of such, in the Ussher, Stearne and other MSS. too numerous to specify. The Royal Irish Academy has duplicates of the Books of Survey and Distribution ; abstracts of Inquisitions, Stowe MSS., and other material ; Marsh's Library has duplicate Registers of Faculties (Prerogative Court), 1745–1829, while the National Library has Abstracts of Exports and Imports ; Lists of Claims at Chichester House, 1700 ; Book of Postings and Sale of Forfeited Estates (1688) ;

Patents of Inventions, now in the new Patent Office of the Irish Free State; Reports of Trustees of the Linen Manufacture, and Rentals of the Incumbered, Landed Estates and Land Judges' Courts. In England, besides the Bodleian with its Carte and other MSS., and the Lambeth Library with its Carew MSS., we have the magnificent collection of MSS. in the British Museum, which, in the Harleian, Lansdowne, Clarendon, Cottonian and Sloane collections, together with the Egerton and Additional MSS., contain much Irish material of an official nature. To mention a few by name, there are copies of some of the Council Books and Orders of Commissioners for the affairs of Ireland; Crown Rentals; copies of Down Survey Maps; copies of charters and extracts, Trade Guilds, Dublin, 1296–1824; Killaloe Marriage Licence Bonds, 1680–1762; Entry Book of Chancery Recognizances, 1570–1634; Statutes Staple, 1638–78; Southwell MSS. and Visitation Book, 1615. In private custody, the Historical Manuscripts Commission has brought to light much of an official nature, as regards Ireland, in the Percival collection (with its register of the Court of Castle Chamber or Star Chamber); in the Ormonde papers, and others. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, there are two volumes of baronial maps of Ireland, made by Sir Wm. Petty, and subsequently captured by a French ship when on its way to England.

I have left to the last the greatest collection of all, viz. that in the English Public Record Office, which contains not only the correspondence and documents sent over by the officials in Ireland to England, but also copies or drafts of letters and other matter sent over to Ireland by the English Government. This truly wonderful collection has been the mine which Irish historians have worked with pleasure and profit, thanks to the series of calendars issued by the English Record Office. Its usefulness can well be imagined when we learn that the Irish State Papers in Ireland were very few and particularly meagre before the

eighteenth century. I will mention a few of the classes of documents to be found in the English Record Office, apart from the Domestic Series of State Papers dealing with Ireland, which will now be very useful—Customs and Excise ledgers; Establishments, civil and military; Irish Exchequer documents from Henry III to Elizabeth; Inquisitions; Letter Books, private and secret and general (Home Office), 1776–1858; Irish Letter Books (Signet Office), 1627–1876; Monastic accounts; entry books of Muster-Master-General, 1709–1823; roll of transcripts of Charters and Patents, Ireland, 1 to 12 Edward III; entries on Gascon Rolls and in the Miscellanea of the Exchequer.

I have not dealt in this paper with the Municipal records of Ireland which are in the custody of the local authorities, but some of these belonging to the Dublin Corporation had come to the Record Office through an ancient Town Clerk having been a Clerk of the Peace, and so having been mixed up with the documents of the latter office, while those of Cork were destroyed in a fire at the end of the last century. Galway, Kilkenny and Waterford, however, have very ancient corporation books dating back to the fourteenth century, two of which have been calendared by the Historical MSS. Commission.

The Irish Record Office is starting again like a new country almost without a history. Solicitors and others are making gifts of probates and deeds which it is very desirable should not be lost, but the memory of the past will ever hang like a cloud over the building. The loss of so many records of the past has stirred the Irish Free State to examine the Irish documents in other lands. A Historical MS. Commission has been appointed for the purpose of taking a survey of Irish documents, in whatever language, and in whatever repository, with the intention of copying or printing such as are of the greatest value in a series of publications called "Analecta Hibernica."

It is hard to contemplate with equanimity the loss of so many records which would have provided material for

research for many a year to come. No doubt much of the contents of the Public Record Office would be designated as rubbish by the man in the street, who is ignorant or careless about the annals of the past, but we know that many a seemingly unimportant document, when viewed by the expert, is often found capable of throwing much light on the past. Apart from the loss from a historical point of view, the difficulties of genealogical study will be increased a hundredfold in the future. Who can regard unmoved the destruction of thousands of parish registers, the only chronicle of multitudes of people ever having lived? The moral of it all seems to me that we should expedite as much as possible the printing of our national heirlooms, so that in the future, if the original should happen to perish, we might still possess a printed copy or extract which for all practical purposes would do as well. The tragedy of 1922 lies in the fact that the method of assembling the public records under one roof was the very means of making such a destruction possible.[1]

[1] For a detailed account of the various documents saved, and a list of repositories which contain similar documents to those lost, see the fifty-fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in the Irish Free State, recently published.

KING STEPHEN'S EARLDOMS

By Geoffrey H. White, F.R.Hist.S.

Read 14 *November* 1929

I

The New Earls

When Stephen was crowned King of England, there were only six English earls: Chester, Buckingham, Surrey, Warwick, Leicester and Gloucester; whilst the King of Scots held the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon, which he had obtained by his marriage to the elder daughter of Earl Waltheof.[1] Three of the six earls, it may be added, belonged to a powerful family group, for Leicester was twin-brother of the Count of Meulan, Surrey was their stepbrother and Warwick their first cousin.

For more than two years after his accession Stephen made no addition to the highest rank of the nobility, beyond allowing King David to transfer his English earldoms to his son and heir Henry, who forfeited them when the Scotch invaded England in 1138; but in that year the King began to create new earldoms, and in less than four years he added eight new earls to the list,[2] without counting the three doubtful earldoms which he is said to have conferred on the Count of Meulan and his brothers, and with which this paper is more particularly concerned. Further, he restored the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon to Simon de Senlis, whose father had enjoyed them as the first husband of Waltheof's daughter, afterwards Queen of Scots.

[1] Ordericus Vitalis (ed. Le Prévost), III, 402.
[2] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 271.

Then the fountain of honours ceased to flow, and although Stephen reigned until 1154, he never created another earldom.[1]

The new earls were fairly representative of the different strata of the baronage.

William d'Aumale, created Earl of York in 1138 as a reward for the leading part which he played in the rout of the Scotch at the Battle of the Standard,[2] was head of the senior line of the House of Blois, to the junior line of which Stephen himself belonged; for William was grandson of that Eudes who should have succeeded his father, Stephen II, as Count of Champagne, but was turned out by his uncle, Theobald III of Blois.[3] As the dispossessed heir married the Conqueror's only sister of the whole blood,[4] their grandson was doubly a cousin of the King.

Gilbert de Clare, created Earl of Pembroke in 1138,[5] and his nephew and namesake, Gilbert de Clare, created Earl of Hertford before Christmas 1141,[6] belonged to an illegitimate branch of the House of Normandy, descended from Godfrey, Count of Eu and Brionne, a natural son of Richard I.[7] The elder Gilbert was probably the most important member of the powerful Clare-Giffard group,[8] and was married to a sister of the Count of Meulan and

[1] He did, however, make another earl, by transferring the earldom of Lincoln, which he had given to William de Roumare, to Gilbert de Gant, *c.* 1147–8.

[2] Richard of Hexham (ed. Howlett), p. 165.

[3] *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, XI, 357. On the origin of the House of Blois, cf. Depoin, *Etudes préparatoires à l'Histoire des Familles Palatines*, pp. 23–72.

[4] Ord. Vit., II, 221. Robert de Torigny, in his additions to William de Jumièges, calls her the uterine stepsister of William (Guil. de Jumièges, ed. Marx, p. 327), but that Orderic is right is shown by the fact that in 1095 the barons proposed to make her son king (Flor. Wig., ed. Thorpe, II, 38), as I have pointed out elsewhere (*Genealogist*, N.S., XXXVII, 129). For the 3 marriages of Alice, cf. Stapleton, *Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, II. xxxi.

[5] Ord. Vit., V, 111–12.

[6] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 146, 271.

[7] Ord. Vit., III, 340. Guil. de Jumièges, p. 229 (R. de Torigny).

[8] For the position of the Clares and Giffards, cf. Round, *Feudal England*, p. 472.

the Earl of Leicester,[1] whilst the younger Gilbert was nephew, through his mother, of the Earl palatine of Chester [2]; and it is probable that both owed their earldoms to their influential connexions and great domains.

Waleran of Meulan and his brothers also were connected with the reigning house, for they descended from that Thorold de Pontaudemer who married a sister of Gunnor, mistress and wife of Richard I of Normandy [3]; whilst their mother was granddaughter of a king of France.[4] Waleran had other claims to an English earldom, for he had been betrothed to Stephen's little daughter in 1136,[5] had driven the King of Scots from the siege of Wark Castle early in 1138 [6] and was mainly instrumental in clearing Normandy of the Angevin invaders in the summer of that year.[7]

Two more of the new earls, although not connected with the reigning house, belonged to the old Norman nobility. Robert de Ferrers, created Earl of Derby in 1138 after the Battle of the Standard, at which he shared the command with William d'Aumale,[8] descended from that Walkelin de Ferrers who was slain in a private battle with Hugh de Montfort during the minority of the Conqueror.[9] William de Roumare, who was created Earl of Cambridge but soon surrendered that earldom for Lincoln,[10] in which county he inherited great estates from his mother Lucy, afterwards Countess of Chester,[11] was grandson of Geroud the Steward, castellan of Neufmarché-en-Lions before the Conquest.[12] William always acted in close

[1] Guil. de Jumièges, pp. 326–7 (R. de Torigny). [2] *Ibid.*, p. 326.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 324. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 332. Ord. Vit., III, 480; IV, 169.
[5] Ord. Vit., V, 58. [6] John of Worcester (ed. Weaver), p. 52.
[7] Ord. Vit., V, 108–9.
[8] Richard of Hexham, p. 165. Orderic notes the creation in 1138, without referring to the battle. Ord. Vit., V, 111–12.
[9] Guil. de Jumièges, p. 116; also p. 155 (Orderic) and p. 260 (R. de Torigny). Cf. Ord. Vit., I, 180; II, 370.
[10] Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 186–7. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 254.
[12] Ord. Vit., II, 113. For proof of the identity of this Geroud with the Geroud whose son Roger married the famous Lucy, cf. *Complete Peerage* (new edition), VII, 667.

alliance with his stepbrother, the Earl of Chester, and it was undoubtedly the King's desire to secure this formidable combination which led him to bestow comital rank on William de Roumare, who had already acted as his justiciar in Normandy.[1]

The next two earls, Geoffrey de Mandeville, created Earl of Essex in 1140, and Hugh Bigod, made Earl of Norfolk before February 1141,[2] represented the newer nobility of the Conquest, which resulted in their ancestors becoming great landholders in the eastern counties. Geoffrey was grandson of another Geoffrey, the Domesday tenant, and son of William de Mandeville, created hereditary constable of the Tower of London : a post which allowed the younger Geoffrey to blackmail Stephen at a critical time and probably gained him his earldom.[3] Roger Bigod, the tenant in 1086, was probably the son of Robert Bigod, a poor knight who gained the Conqueror's favour by informing him of an alleged plot of his master William Werlenc, Count of Mortain.[4] The new earl of Norfolk, a royal steward under Henry I,[5] assisted Stephen to secure the crown by declaring that the late King had disinherited his daughter on his death-bed.[6]

Lastly William d'Aubigny, who was created Earl of Lincoln but soon exchanged that earldom for Sussex,[7] represented a still newer stratum of the baronage—the official nobility of Henry I. His father, the first William d'Aubigny, a Norman from the Côtentin, was made hereditary Master Butler by Henry I, who formed the barony of Buckenham in his favour.[8] The younger William married

[1] *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Jumièges* (ed. Vernier), No. LXI.
[2] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 49, 50.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 49. [4] Guil. de Jumièges, p. 172 (Orderic).
[5] Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward*, p. 23.
[6] Ralf de Diceto (ed. Stubbs), I, 248.
[7] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 324–5. *Complete Peerage* (new edition), VII, 666–7.
[8] Round, *King's Serjeants*, p. 141. On the favour shown by Henry I to men from the Côtentin, cf. Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 124–5, and *Ancestor*, No. 11, p. 157.

the queen-dowager, Alice of Louvain,[1] who brought him the great honour of Arundel: a marriage which no doubt led to his elevation to comital rank. It may be added that although the elder William d'Aubigny was a new man in the baronage, there is no reason to suppose that he was of low birth; he is not one of the new men named by Orderic as those whom Henry I raised as from the dust.[2]

Besides these earldoms, the existence of which is beyond a doubt, Stephen is said to have bestowed the earldoms of Worcester, Hereford and Bedford on the three brothers Waleran Count of Meulan, Robert Earl of Leicester and Hugh de Meulan, otherwise Hugh the Poor. These were the sons of Henry I's friend and counsellor, Robert de Beaumont, who succeeded his mother's brother as Count of Meulan in France[3] and his father as Lord of Pontaudemer and Beaumont in Normandy, and himself obtained the earldom of Leicester in England. Count Robert married Isabel, daughter of Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois (younger son of Henry I, King of France), by whom he had three sons and five daughters.[4] After his death his vast estates were divided between the two eldest sons, the twins Waleran and Robert, the former succeeding him in France and Normandy and the latter in England.[5] Whether the three brothers did or did not receive the earldoms of Worcester, Hereford and Bedford will be discussed in the succeeding sections of this paper.

[1] Robert de Torigny (ed. Howlett), p. 246.

[2] Ord. Vit., IV, 164–5.

[3] On the date when Robert became Count of Meulan, see my paper on "Robert de Beaumont and the Comté of Meulan," *Genealogist*, N.S., XXXVI, 173–8.

[4] Ord. Vit., III, 480; IV, 169.

[5] *Ibid.*, IV, 191, 438–9. Waleran had also the land which his grandfather Roger de Beaumont had held in England in 1086. This explains the clause in the charter of Henry Duke of Normandy in 1153 confirming to the Earl of Leicester the lands which his father had held in England, "exceptis terris R. comitis de Mellent de Sturmenstre et cum pertinentiis." Harcourt, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

II

The Earldom of Worcester

Bishop Stubbs does not include Worcester in his list of earldoms created by Stephen, nor does Dr. Round, but the latter refers in a footnote to "a doubtful earldom of Worcestershire bestowed on the Count of Meulan." [1]

Arguments may be adduced on either side, but it will be convenient first to consider the reasons which tend to the rejection of the theory that Waleran was Earl of Worcester. These reasons may be stated as follows:

(1) Waleran is not styled, and does not style himself, Earl of Worcester in any known charter or other document.

(2) No historian records the creation of such an earldom.

(3) His son and successor Robert did not inherit or enjoy that earldom.

(1) The first objection appears the most serious, but in order rightly to appraise its value it is necessary to ascertain whether the holder of a *comté* in France or Normandy who obtained an English earldom would normally add his English title to his style in documents. There are two precedents which seem relevant.

Robert, Count of Mortain in Normandy, the Conqueror's stepbrother, is usually considered to have been Earl of Cornwall, but he never uses that title, nor does it appear in documents addressed to him by the King; and the same is true of his son and successor William.[2] But it has been questioned whether Robert did really enjoy the earldom of Cornwall. It may indeed be urged that no early historian mentions such a grant or speaks of Robert or William as Earl of Cornwall; and that Orderic includes Robert, not amongst those on whom the Conqueror conferred earldoms, but amongst those to whom he gave

[1] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 271.

[2] Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, and Farrer, *Outline Itinerary of Henry I, passim.*

great estates. On the other hand, William of Malmesbury distinctly implies that Count William was Earl of Cornwall, when he writes : " Non enim contentus duobus comitatibus, Moretolii in Normannia, Cornugalliae in Anglia, comitatum Cantiae, quem Odo patruus habuerat, a rege exigebat." [1] For as Mortain and Kent were earldoms, *comitatus* is clearly used here in that sense, and not in that of county. In the thirteenth century Matthew Paris actually calls Count William " comes Cornubiae " [2] ; but that is somewhat late. It might also be urged that in view of the Conqueror's habit of aggrandising his stepbrothers, he would not have omitted to grant Robert the earldom of the county in which he had given him such vast estates. On the whole I am inclined to think that Robert and William were Earls of Cornwall, but it might be dangerous to base an argument on the assumption that they were.

A better precedent is afforded by Waleran's own father, Robert Count of Meulan, who according to Orderic became Earl of Leicester.[3] It has been considered doubtful whether Robert, who was never styled Earl of Leicester in documents, really did enjoy the earldom [4] ; but there seems no good reason for rejecting the statement of so trustworthy a writer as Orderic. Further, his son Robert issued a charter, as Earl of Leicester, in 1119, the year after his father's death, when he was certainly under sixteen years of age [5] ; and it is obviously improbable that Henry I would have created him an earl when he was still a young boy. So I think that it may be accepted as a fact that the elder Robert was Earl of Leicester.[6]

[1] Will. Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum* (ed. Stubbs), II, 473.
[2] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (ed. Luard), II, 113.
[3] Ord. Vit., IV, 169. [4] Round, *Ancient Charters*, No. 69.
[5] Houth, *Recueil des Chartes de St. Nicaise de Meulan*, No. 3.
[6] It is possible that he used the style on his seal. A mutilated impression, engraved by Nichols, gives the legend on the counterseal as . . . ERT . . . LEIC . . . But the missing word may have been *Domini* and not *Comitis*. The seal was attached to a charter in favour of the

Thus it seems fair to conclude that if Waleran were given an English earldom he would not add the title to his style in documents; and this conclusion may be supported by the case of an actual contemporary who held two English earldoms—Northampton and Huntingdon. Both these earldoms had been vested in Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and both were carried by his elder daughter to her husband, Simon de Senlis I, and after his death to her second husband, King David of Scotland,[1] who was allowed to retain them after her death. But when David invaded England in 1138, the English earldoms vested in him or his son were forfeited. Thereupon Stephen undoubtedly restored the earldom of Northampton to Simon de Senlis II, son of Simon I,[2] and as Mr. G. Herbert Fowler has shown, there is every reason to believe that Simon received the earldom of Huntingdon also. For a charter issued not later than 1148 by Simon as Earl of Northampton is addressed to (Alexander Bishop of Lincoln and) "omnibus baronibus suis et amicis fidelibus tam clericis quam laicis de Norht'sire, de Huntendonsire, de Bedefordesire."[3] Mr. Fowler shows that Bedfordshire was appurtenant to the earldom of Huntingdon, and this charter can leave little doubt that Simon was Earl of Huntingdon as well as of Northampton; but he never assumed the title of Huntingdon in documents, styling himself Earl of Northampton only.

Therefore our first objection proves to be of small value.

(2) The second objection, that no historian or chronicler records the creation of an earldom of Worcester, is of little importance, as no writer records, or pretends to record,

abbey of Bec, the first three witnesses being: "Roberto, Waleranno & Hugone, filiis meis" (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, Vol. I, Appendix, p. 48, plate XIV). The fact that Robert precedes Waleran may seem suspicious, and the design of the counterseal is unusual.

[1] Ord. Vit., III, 402.

[2] Simon de Senlis I was son of Randulf le Riche, who probably belonged to the family of Le Riche of Paris (Depoin, *Cartulaire de St. Martin de Pontoise*, p. 279).

[3] Fowler, *The Shire of Bedford and the Earldom of Huntingdon* (Beds Hist. Record Socy., IX, 23–34), No. 5.

the creation of all the earldoms either of Stephen or of the Empress.

(3) The third objection is more serious. It is certain that Waleran's son and successor, Robert, Count of Meulan, did not possess the earldom of Worcester or even assume the title, nor is there any reason to believe that he claimed the earldom. Therefore if Waleran really did enjoy that earldom, he must have lost it before his death or the King must have resumed it at his death ; and there is no mention of either event in any history or chronicle.

On the other hand, there were two occasions when the count may have lost his English earldom, if he actually held it. The first was on the death of Stephen, for the charters of Henry II show that he did not consider himself bound to recognise his predecessor's creations. Even if there had been a formal recognition or allowance by the Empress of an earldom created by Stephen, this would not have sufficed, for Henry II did not consider himself bound by his mother's grants, even if, as a boy, he had assented to them himself.[1] It is true that Dr. Round has shown that Robert de Torigny was mistaken in stating that Henry II deprived Stephen's earls of their earldoms,[2] and that there is no evidence that anyone lost his earldom on the accession of the new King.[3] But two earldoms created

[1] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 418–19. But I venture to differ from Dr. Round regarding the charter by which Henry II granted "Comiti Alberico" (*i.e.* to Aubrey de Vere) "tertium denarium de placitis Oxenfordscyre ut sit inde Comes" (*ibid.*, p. 239). Dr. Round holds that the King styled Aubrey "comes" as being Count of Guisnes, just as his mother had done in her charter of 1142 granting him the earldom of Cambridge, or, if that should be vested in the King of Scots, giving him the choice of the earldoms of Oxford, Berkshire, Wiltshire and Dorset (*ibid.*, pp. 180–3). But this theory seems untenable, for Aubrey had lost the *comté* of Guisnes when his first wife divorced him, not later than 1146 (Stapleton, *Archaeologia*, XXXI, 232–4). Therefore I suggest that Henry II recognised his mother's charter creating Aubrey an English earl, and that his own charter was really a confirmation of Aubrey's choice of the earldom of Oxford : a title which he had assumed in or before 1147 (*Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 194).

[2] Robert de Torigny, p. 183.

[3] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 275–7.

in the previous reign—York, bestowed on William d'Aumale by Stephen in 1138, and Somerset, granted to William de Mohun by the Empress not later than June 1141—disappear, and Bishop Stubbs suggests that the holders were deprived of them by Henry II on his accession. Of these, the earldom of Somerset is not found after 1142 and when or why it lapsed or was forfeited is unknown [1]; the earldom of York ceases to appear after the reign of Stephen, but it is not certain that it ceased to exist, for William and his successors continue to style themselves and be styled *comes*, although the title used is not York but Aumale. But Aumale was not a *comté*,[2] so that this would seem rather to be a parallel to the practice of the Earls of Surrey, who commonly styled themselves Earls of Warenne, which was not a *comté* but the Norman honour from which they took their name. It seems possible then that William and his successors styled themselves "of Aumale" so persistently that it was forgotten that they were really Earls of York, just as the Earls of Sussex styled themselves Earl of Arundel until it was forgotten that they were really Earls of Sussex.

It is true that Henry II would have had an excellent excuse for depriving William d'Aumale of the earldom of York, for he would not surrender the lands which he had appropriated from the royal demesne and the castle of Scarborough until the King marched against him in force.[3] There was no such excuse for punishing Waleran, who had

[1] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 277.

[2] William attested two charters of Stephen in 1136 as William "de Albamarla," which proves "that he did not, as is supposed, enjoy comital rank at the time." (Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 264.) But in a later passage Round writes: "William of Aumâle (*sic*) sometimes, but rarely, styled himself, under Stephen, Earl of York; he did not, however, under Henry II, lose his comital rank," and adds the note: "Aumâle (Albemarle) is notoriously a difficult title, as one of those of which the bearer enjoyed comital rank, though whether as a Norman count or as an English earl it is, at first, difficult to decide" (*ibid.*, pp. 276–7). But if William did not enjoy comital rank in 1136, it is difficult to see how he could retain comital rank if he lost his English earldom.

[3] William of Newburgh (ed. Howlett), I, 103–4.

been consistently faithful to the Angevin cause since he made terms with Geoffrey of Anjou in 1141, and whose castle of Worcester had been attacked by Stephen in 1150 and 1151.[1] Thus it seems improbable that Henry II would have deprived Waleran of his earldom on his accession, though I do not know of any evidence connecting him with either the county or city of Worcester after that date.

If Waleran was deprived of his English earldom it would seem more probable that this occurred in 1161, when he is said to have sided with the King of France against England on the rupture of friendly relations with England.[2] Henry seized his Norman castles,[3] and it is possible that he seized Worcester and resumed the earldom of Worcester at the same time, and refused to restore them when he returned the castles in Normandy to their lord.

Finally, the King might have seized the earldom on Waleran's death; but there is some evidence, as will be shown below, that the count had lost it not later than 1162.

Thus it seems quite possible that Waleran held and lost the earldom of Worcester, even though there is no record of its forfeiture; and it may be said that the reasons for rejecting the existence of the earldom, whilst not negligible, are by no means conclusive.

The arguments on the other side may be considered under four heads:

(1) The evidence of Waleran's seals.

(2) A passage in the *Chronicon Valassense*, which states that he was Earl of Worcester.

(3) Two passages in which John of Worcester refers to an Earl of Worcester.

(4) Three documents issued by Waleran which might be taken to imply that he held the earldom.

(1) I have not been able to discover any impression or description of the seal or seals used by Waleran before

[1] Henry of Huntingdon (ed. Arnold), pp. 282–3.
[2] Depoin, *Cartulaire de St. Martin de Pontoise*, p. 322.
[3] Robert de Torigny, p. 209.

the accession of Stephen, but in the second half of his life he used at least five different seals.

A. An impression of the earliest of these seals was attached to the *pancarte* granted by Waleran to St. Nicaise de Meulan in 1141.[1] This seal was seen by M. Millin de Grandmaison in the cabinet of M. Lévrier,[2] who had seen the original charter before 1793.[3] Both seal and counter-seal are equestrian,[4] and the legends give Waleran's chief honours in France and England respectively [5]:

SIGILLVM GVALERANNI COMITIS MELLENTI
SIGILLVM GVALERANNI DOMINI WIGON (*sic*).

This is the only seal on which Waleran styles himself Lord of Worcester, a style which proves that he received the city of Worcester before he was created (or assumed the title of) Earl of Worcester(shire). Henry of Huntingdon mentions that the city had been given to him by Stephen,[6] and John of Worcester implies that he held it before the end of 1139.[7] It is probable that the King's grant took place in 1136, when he betrothed his little two-years-old daughter to Waleran.[8] So we may assume that the seal was made not earlier than 1136 and not later than 1141. But the fact that it was still in use in 1141 does not prove that Waleran had not received the earldom by that date,

[1] Houth, *op. cit.*, No. 13.

[2] Millin de Grandmaison, *Antiquités Nationales*, IV, Art. XLIX, pp. 17, 19.

[3] Réaux, *Histoire du Comté de Meulan*, p. 204.

[4] Millin de Grandmaison, *op. cit.*, Art. XLIX, pl. 2. Waleran is shown in hauberk, coif, surcoat, conical helmet without nasal; checkered convex shield with central spike; horse to sinister, checkered saddle-cloth. In the *seal*, Waleran's head is turned to show full face, he carries a sword, his horse is galloping. In the *counterseal*, he looks straight before him, he carries a lance with checkered flag (with three streamers), his horse is walking.

[5] This system of different legends on the seal and counterseal was introduced by the Conqueror, as King of the English and Duke of the Normans, and his example was followed in France by Louis VI in 1113. Poole, *Seals and Documents*, p. 18.

[6] Henry of Huntingdon, p. 282.

[7] John of Worcester, p. 57.

[8] Ord. Vit., V, 58.

as there is no reason to suppose that he would have a new seal prepared immediately on becoming an English earl.[1]

B. The next seal is better known, indeed it appears to be the only seal known to English writers. There are two impressions in the British Museum,[2] one of which is attached to the charter in which Waleran announces that he has founded Bordesley Abbey,[3] the other—in much better condition—to the letter in which Waleran informs Simon, Bishop of Worcester,[4] that he has granted Bordesley, etc., to his new abbey.[5] Another impression, in Paris, is attached to a charter of Waleran and his wife Agnes in favour of the monks of Gournay.[6] The seal and counterseal differ little from A *supra*.[7] The legends run :[8]

SIGILLVM GVALERANNI COMITIS MELLENTI
SIGILLVM GVALERANNI COMITIS WIGORNIE.

All the documents in question are undated. In the B.M. Catalogue of Seals the charter is assigned to "? 1138"

[1] Réaux, although purporting to derive his information about this seal from Millin de Grandmaison, describes and draws the lance-flag as checkered only on one half, the other showing a lion with a forked tail, whilst he depicts the shield with a white border round the checkered field.

[2] Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 245 : Equestrian, Nos. 5666, 5668 ; cf. my paper on "The Beaumont Seals in the B.M. Catalogue," *Notes and Queries*, cli, 111–14.

[3] Additional Charters, 20419. Printed by Dugdale, *Monasticon*, V, 410.

[4] Harleian Charters, 45, I, 30. Printed by Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*, I, App., p. 37.

[5] Seal engraved by Nichols, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XI, No. 1 ; a much better reproduction is in *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, XXXV, plate opp. p. 37 ; drawing in Lansdown MSS. 203, fol. 16b, reproduced in *Archæological Journal*, LI, plate opp. p. 47, with notes by Round, p. 47. Probably the counterseal engraved by Watson, *Earls of Warren and Surrey*, I. Plate II, No. 35, is from this impression.

[6] Seal described by Douët d'Arcq, *Collection de Sceaux*, I, 377, No. 715 ; reproduced by Bertrand de Broussillon, *La Maison de Craon*, I, figs. 18–19, with description, pp. 74–6.

[7] Waleran is shown in profile on seal as well as on counterseal. The checkers can now be traced only on the saddle-cloth (s. and c.s.) and lance-flag (c.s.) ; but the drawing in the Lansdown MSS. shows them also on the shield and helm (s.) and shield and surcoat (c.s.)

[8] The drawing in the Lansdown MSS. reads "Gualerani" both on s. and c.s. and omits the nasal of the helmet on both. Round does not notice these errors.

and the letter to "1144–66"; but Dr. Round pointed out that as the letter is addressed to Bishop Simon, it cannot be later than 1150 [1]; and the charter is attested by the same prelate. The foundation of Bordesley is assigned to 1136 by the Annals of Winchcombe [2] and to 1138 by the Annals of Burton.[3] The names of the witnesses to both documents, which were probably issued about the same time, would be compatible with any date from 1136 to 1150; but if Waleran was still using his earlier seal in 1141, they cannot be of earlier date. It is probable that they were issued not long after Waleran had come to terms with Geoffrey of Anjou, which he did before the end of 1141,[4] and not long before the Empress issued the charter at Devizes in which she stated that she had founded the abbey;[5] which charter, attested by Waleran, was probably issued at one of the councils which Maud held at Devizes on the 29 March and 19 April 1142.[6] So on the whole it seems likely that this second seal was in use early in 1142, and was engraved either in 1141 or 1142.

C. The next seal is known from the record of an impression affixed to a charter of Waleran in favour of

[1] *Archæological Journal*, LI, 47. [2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, V, 407.
[3] *Ann. Mon.* (ed. Luard), I, 186. [4] Robert de Torigny, p. 142.
[5] *Monasticon*, V., 409; Birch, *Fasciculus of the Charters of Mathildis*, No. 14.

[6] Davis, Some Documents of the Anarchy (*Essays presented to Dr. R. L. Poole*), p. 189. But Davis thinks it more probable that Maud's charter was issued before the end of July 1141, because another charter issued at Devizes in favour of Bordesley, also attested by Waleran, has as first witness William Cumin, who fled north after the rout at Winchester. As both charters are witnessed by Miles Earl of Hereford, so created at Oxford on the 25 July 1141 (Birch, *Fasciculus*, No. 8), Davis suggests that the Empress, instead of marching direct from Oxford to Winchester, proceeded via Devizes and issued the Bordesley charters there. But this theory is inadmissible, because in a charter in favour of William de Beauchamp, also attested by Miles as Earl of Hereford, the Count of Meulan is referred to as an enemy (Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 314–15). It may be noted that the original charter attested by William Cumin (Addl. Ch. 20420, printed by Birch, *Fasciculus*, No. 15), has the names of the witnesses out of order, the Earl of Hereford following William de Pont de l'Arche and William de Beauchamp. The seal is much defaced and there is no counterseal.

the Abbey of Bec, in which he states that he is about to go on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella,[1] which he is said to have done in the autumn of 1144.[2] It is probable that the mutilated impression recorded by Lévrier as attached to a charter in favour of the Holy Trinity of Beaumont, which is dated in that year,[3] is from the same seal. The legends run [4]:

S. G. COMITIS MELLENTI
S. GVALERANNI COMITIS WIGORNENSIS.

D. The next seal is known only from M. Lévrier's description of the impression which was affixed to a charter of Waleran in favour of the Holy Trinity of Beaumont, dated 21 July 1162.[5] The legends on the seal and counterseal run:

SIGILLVM GALERANNI COMITIS MELLENTI
SIGILLVM GALERANNI COMITIS BELLOMONTIS.

Here Worcester has disappeared from the counterseal and has been replaced by Beaumont, the Count's great Norman honour, which would imply that Waleran had lost the earldom, and probably the city, of Worcester when this seal was engraved. But the question arises whether the accuracy of the transcription can be trusted. In the first place it may be noted that the Count's name appears as "Galeranni," whilst on all the other seals it is spelled "Gualeranni." What is much more important, he is styled *Count* of Beaumont, whereas Beaumont was only a

[1] "Iturus ad Sanctum Jacobum." Delisle, *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, Introduction, p. 466.

[2] Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, I, 341. Réaux, *op. cit.*, p. 206. The pilgrimage is assigned to *ante* 1144 in *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, XII, 160–1.

[3] Deville, *Cartulaire de la Ste-Trinité de Beaumont*, No. VI.

[4] Delisle places the legends in the reverse order, but the later title should be on the counterseal. Porée, on the authority of D. Jouvelin, gives the legends as: "Sigillum Gualeranni comitis Wigorniensis" and "Sig. G. com. Mellenti," and states that the seal and counterseal are reproduced by Millin, thus confusing this seal with A *supra*.

[5] Deville, *op. cit.*, No. XXIII.

barony. It might be suggested that Waleran was reluctant to abandon the style of Count on his counterseal, or that the engraver had merely been instructed to substitute "Bellomontis" for "Wigornie." But, again according to Lévrier, a charter of Waleran's son in favour of Beaumont had attached to it the impression of a seal bearing exactly the same legends as above, with the exception of "Roberti" instead of "Galeranni."[1] On the other hand, in the British Museum there is an original charter of Count Robert in favour of the monks of Canterbury,[2] attached to which is a seal bearing the legends[3]:

SIGILLVM ROBERTI COMITIS MELLENTI
SIGILLVM ROBERTI DOMINI BELLOMONTIS.

Millin de Grandmaison also engraves an impression, probably of the same seal, bearing the same inscription.[4] Thus it is certain that Robert styled himself Lord (not Count) of Beaumont, a style which is strictly accurate, and which appears again in a charter of Robert in favour of St. Wandrille: "Ego Robertus jure hereditario comes Mellenti dominusque Bellomontis."[5]

E. The last seal is known only from an impression in Paris,[6] which according to M. Bertrand de Broussillon was affixed in 1165.[7] The design is very similar to that of B,[8]

[1] Deville, *op. cit.*, No. V.

[2] L.F.C., xxii, 1. Printed by Nichols, *op. cit.*, I. App., p. 37.

[3] Seal engraved by Nichols, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, No. 2, but the inscription being partly defaced, he reads "Bellu (mutis)." Described by Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, II, 246, No. 5672, where Robert is confused with his cousin Robert, Earl of Leicester.

[4] Millin de Grandmaison, *op. cit.*, IV, 21–3, Art. XLIX, pl. 4. Probably the fragmentary seal and counterseal listed by Douët d'Arcq (*op. cit.*, No. 719) are impressions of the same. A fragmentary seal and counterseal of Robert from which the legends have disappeared are reproduced by Somménil (*L'Abbaye du Valasse*, plate opp. p. 38).

[5] Lot, *St. Wandrille*, No. 96.

[6] Reproduced by Bertrand de Broussillon, *op. cit.*, I, 74, fig. 17; described by Douët d'Arcq, *op. cit.*, I, 377, No. 716.

[7] Bertrand de Broussillon, u.s.

[8] Like the French specimen of B, this seal is so much worn that no trace of the Meulan checkers can be traced, if they were shown.

but unfortunately there is no counterseal. The legend on the seal is the same as on A and B:

SIGILLVM GVALERANNI COMITIS MELLENTI.

This completes the list of Waleran's seals which I have been able to trace; for the seal (without counterseal) bearing the inscription . . . IGILLVM GVALERANI MEL . . . engraved by Nichols certainly belonged to his grandson, the eldest son and heir of Count Robert.[1]

(2) The passage in the *Chronicon Valassense*, or Chronicle of the Abbey of Le Valasse, is as follows:

"Jam et ipse Bordesleiam edificaverat in Anglia, dum esset comes Wirecestrie, quem comitatum cum uxore sua, regis Stephani filia, fuerat assecutus." [2]

The fact that on the first of his seals described above Waleran styles himself Lord of Worcester makes it probable that it was the city and castle of Worcester which Stephen gave the Count when he betrothed his little two-year-old daughter to him in 1136; but if the earldom were conferred on him shortly afterwards, the mistake would be natural enough. The authority is good, for the abbey was founded by Waleran himself, in accordance with a vow which he made when his ship was caught in a storm on his way back from the Crusade in 1149. The ship was wrecked, but the Count and some of his companions reached the shore by clinging to two planks and some pieces of wreckage. As the writer of the chronicle had heard this story from one of the survivors, Renault de Gerponville, who claimed to have suggested Waleran's vow,[3] the date must be early.

(3) The first of the relevant passages in John of Worcester's continuation of Florence of Worcester refers to

[1] Nichols, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XI, No. 5. The word "comes" in the printed text of the charter to which it was appended (*ibid.*, App., p. 37) is probably due to a slip in copying.

[2] *Chronicon Valassense* (ed. Somménil), p. 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

November 1139, the second to a slightly later date, probably February 1140 :

(*a*) " Tricesimo die mensis Novembris comes civitatis Wigorniam venit." [1]

(*b*) " Rex et comes Wigornensis cum grandi exercitu Wigorniam venit." [2]

In neither passage does the historian say who the earl was, but as it is universally allowed that he must be Waleran of Meulan, it is unnecessary to discuss that point. Accordingly these passages show that John of Worcester believed Waleran to be Earl of Worcester. It is true that " comes civitatis " is an unusual form, but this need not cause any difficulty. Dr. Round showed that, although an earl was always earl of a county—a fact which must have been well known to John of Worcester—his usual style might be taken from either his county, or the capital of his county, or the castle wherein he usually resided or his family name. Thus the first Earl of Sussex is styled Earl of Sussex, Earl of Chichester, Earl of Arundel and Earl William d'Aubigny.[3] It was most usual, however, for an earl to take his style from the capital of his county. Thus the Earls of Cheshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire were known respectively as Earls of Chester, Salisbury, Gloucester, Leicester and Warwick ; and there is no reason to doubt that the Earl of Worcestershire would be known as Earl of Worcester, as he is styled in the second passage quoted from John of Worcester. And it seems to me that the use of " civitatis " in the first passage is due simply to the wish to avoid such an awkward tautology as " comes Wigornensis Wigorniam venit." [4]

[1] John of Worcester, p. 57.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60. The MS. followed by Thorpe reads " veniunt " (Cont. Flor. Wig., II, 124).

[3] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 319–21.

[4] Prof. Davis, however, considered that the difference between the two descriptions of Waleran shows that John of Worcester " is not quite clear about Waleran's office," and suggested that Waleran " was the castellan of the city." Davis, *Poole Essays*, p. 169.

It may be added that it seems quite natural that a local historian, writing of his own city, should use Waleran's English (and local) earldom instead of the foreign *comté* by which he was usually known.

(4) The first of the three documents from which it might perhaps be deduced that Waleran was Earl of Worcester is a writ issued by him in favour of the monks of Leominster, a priory of the Abbey of Reading:

G. comes Mell. justiciariis et baronibus vicecomitibus et praepositis et ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis de Wirecestr, et de Wiceo salutem. Praecipio quod monachi de Rading et de Leomen et homines et omnes res eorum sint quieti de theloneo et passagio et omni consuetudine. Test.[1]

This document was cited by Mr. Howlett as evidence of the powerful position held by Waleran in England[2]; but it seems to me that it is rather indicative of his special position in Worcestershire, and certainly suggests that he was earl of that county. A very similar writ, issued in favour of Gloucester Abbey, was unknown to Mr. Howlett, and I think was generally overlooked until I called attention to it[3]; possibly because the editor of the Gloucester Cartulary failed to identify "G. comes de Mellent," suggesting "Melun" in his index:

G. comes de Mellent omnibus ballivis et ministris suis de Wyrecestresira, et praepositis et ministris suis de Wyche, salutem. Praecipio quod totum dominium monachorum de Gloucestria, unde homines eorum poterunt affidare suum esse proprium, sit quietum ab omni theloneo et consuetudine apud Wyche, sicut melius fuit tempore Henrici regis. Et super hoc non disturbentur homines aut res eorum super forisfacturam meam.

Testibus Alberico de Vere, et Roberto filio Walteri, et Radulpho Pincerna, et Philippo de Belmes, etc.[4]

[1] *Monasticon*, IV, 56. [2] *Gesta Stephani*, p. xl.

[3] *Notes and Queries*, cl, 326–8.

[4] *Hist. et Cart. S. Petri de Gloucestria* (ed. Hart), II, 71 (No. DXLII). The heading "De eodem" is wrong, but the document is repeated, without the names of witnesses, under No. DCXXXI with the more correct heading: "Quietantia thelonei de Wichio" (II, 129).

The first witness is presumably Aubrey de Vere II, the Master Chamberlain, who was connected with Waleran in a roundabout way, being married to a sister of the Earl of Pembroke, whose wife was Waleran's sister. He was slain in a riot in London on the 9 May 1141,[1] so the writ cannot be later than that date, for his son Aubrey III (the only other possible Aubrey de Vere) was already Count of Guisnes *jure uxoris* before his father's death.[2] Further, according to the relevant entry in the List of Donations, the grant was confirmed by Stephen in the time of Abbot Walter de Lacy,[3] who died at the beginning of February 1139.[4]

The third document is an order by Waleran addressed to William de Beauchamp, Lord of Elmley and Sheriff of Worcestershire, which begins:

"G. comes Mell' Willelmo de Bello Campo filio [? fideli][5] suo salutem. Mando vobis et precipio quatenus clametis priorem et monachos Ecclesie Sancte Marie Wigornensis quietos de forestagio de Tabrituna et de omnibus placitis illius foreste ita ut nullum ius de forestis quod ad illam villam pertinet amodo clamabitis."[6]

Now William de Beauchamp was a baron of importance, the biggest man in Worcestershire after Waleran himself; and the charter of the Empress already cited shows that he resented the idea of being subordinated to the Count. By the said charter, Maud had confirmed to William the offices of a royal Constable, sheriff of Worcestershire and constable of Worcester Castle, all of which had been held by his

[1] Matt. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, II, 174. In 1140 according to Ralf de Coggeshall (ed. Stevenson), p. 11, where he is wrongly styled "comes."

[2] Stapleton, *Archaeologia*, XXXI, 230–1.

[3] *Hist. et Cart. S. Petri de Gloucestria*, I, 119. [4] *Ibid.*, I, 17.

[5] For this emendation I am indebted to my friend Mr. L. C. Loyd, who suggests that the transcriber, finding the word illegible, guessed "filio," relying on the phrase: "Quare rogo vos ut filium carissimum," which occurs farther on in the document.

[6] Davis, *Poole Essays*, pp. 170–1, where the document is assigned to 1145. If the Count's reference to his coming "peregrinacio" is an allusion to his pilgrimage to Compostella, the date would presumably be 1144; if it alludes to the crusade, the date would presumably be 1146 or 1147.

maternal grandfather, Urse d'Abetot, and of a royal Dispenser, derived from Urse's brother, Robert the Dispenser.[1] What right had the Count of Meulan to address a formal and imperative order to such a magnate, who moreover, as sheriff, was the official representative of the Crown in the county? The most likely explanation seems to me that Waleran was Earl of Worcester, and had taken advantage of the anarchic conditions of the time to make himself the official, as well as the titular, head of the county, interposing himself between the Crown and the sheriff.[2]

This completes the evidence for the earldom, and having set forth the arguments on either side, it only remains to balance one against the other and draw our conclusions. This must necessarily be a matter of opinion, but my own view is that the scales fall heavily on the side of the earldom, and I feel no doubt that Waleran was granted the earldom of Worcester by Stephen.

If this conclusion be accepted, the next question to consider is the date of the grant. The seals do not give us an earlier date than the beginning of 1142, but the first passage cited from John of Worcester implies that Waleran was in possession of the earldom in November 1139. If we may assume that Waleran was earl when he issued the writ cited from the Gloucester cartulary, we can take the date a little further back, to the beginning of that year at latest.

[1] Robert the Dispenser was dead in 1100, when his estates had passed to Urse d'Abetot (Round, *Ancient Charters*, No. 1). After the forfeiture of Urse's son Roger, the latter's brother-in-law, Walter de Beauchamp, obtained the lands and shrievalty (Farrer, *op. cit.*, Nos. 319, 335) and dispensership (Davis, *Poole Essays*, p. 169), whilst the Dispenser lands seem to have been divided between Beauchamp and Marmion (Round, *Feudal England*, p. 195). The royal Constableship was apparently granted to Walter de Gloucester, as I have shown in the *Genealogist*, N.S., XXXVIII, 120–1; but it was restored to William de Beauchamp by Stephen in 1139, when Walter's son Miles went over to the Empress (Cont. Flor. Wig., ed. Thorpe, II, 121—only in MS. G.; cf. John of Worcester, ed. Weaver, p. 56).

[2] I assume that the earl had no official position in his county, although Bishop Stubbs seems a little doubtful (*Const. Hist.*, I, 411). Cf. Palmer, *Peerage Law in England*, pp. 36–8.

This is building on somewhat insecure foundations, but it seems to me very probable that Waleran was given the earldom in 1138. As has been explained above, it was in 1138 that Stephen began to create new earldoms and he is known to have made three new earls in that year. Two of these received their earldoms as a reward for their victory over the Scotch at Northallerton Moor ; and I have suggested elsewhere [1] that Waleran may have been given the earldom for his services in driving the Angevins out of Normandy in the summer of that year.[2]

III

The Earldom of Hereford

Neither Bishop Stubbs nor Dr. Round included an earldom of Hereford amongst those created by Stephen ; but Mr. Vernon Harcourt and Professor Davis consider that the grant of the *comitatus* of Hereford made by the King's charter to the Earl of Leicester was a grant of the earldom.[3]

Before considering the charter, it may be noted that all the other evidence is either negative or unfavourable to this theory :

(1) Robert is not styled, nor does he style himself, Earl of Hereford in any known charters or other documents or on any known seal.

(2) No historian or chronicler records the grant of the earldom, or refers to Robert as Earl of Hereford.

(3) There is no document known which implies in any way that he held the earldom.

(4) His son and successor did not inherit or enjoy or claim the earldom.

[1] *Notes and Queries*, cl, 328.

[2] There was no battle, as the Angevins, being warned by Robert de Courcy, made good their retreat before the royal army arrived. Ord. Vit., V, 109.

[3] Harcourt, *op. cit.*, p. 38. Davis, *Poole Essays*, p. 172.

The charter begins (after the address) :—

Sciatis me reddidisse hereditarie Roberto Comiti Legrecestrie et heredibus suis burgum Hereford et castellum et totum comitatum de Herefordscire praeter terram episcopatus et terram Abbathiae de Rading' et aliarum ecclesiarum et abbathiarum que tenent de me in capite. Et excepto feodo, etc.[1]

Professor Davis showed that this charter must have passed within the years 1140–5, and argues cogently that it was probably issued in 1140.[2] But that date involves a difficulty, arising from the attestation of Robert de Gant the Chancellor. It is usually supposed that Robert became Chancellor in 1140 in succession to Philip de Harcourt, who was nominated to the see of Salisbury by Stephen, either at London in Mid-Lent,[3] or at Winchester,[4] at the instance of Waleran of Meulan[5]; and Professor Davis accepts this view without question. Robert does indeed attest as Chancellor a charter of Stephen issued *c.* 1142[6] and other charters of later date.[7] But there are two charters issued in London by Queen Maud in 1141 during her husband's captivity which are witnessed by a certain Ralf the Chancellor. One of these is dated only seven days after the Battle of Lincoln.[8] The other is

[1] Madox, *Hist. Exchequer*, II, 138–9; Nichols, *op. cit.*, I, 25; Davis, *Poole Essays*, p. 173. I have followed Davis's text where there are slight discrepancies.

[2] Davis, *Poole Essays*, pp. 174–5.

[3] *Annals of Waverley—Ann. Mon.*, II, 228. Davis followed this version.

[4] John of Worcester, pp. 60–1. Probably in March, from the sequence of events.

[5] Ord. Vit., V, 123. But the legate (who wanted the see for his nephew, Henry de Sulli) and the chapter prevented Philip from securing the see. Philip, who became Bishop of Bayeux in 1142, seems to have revenged himself on the chapter of Salisbury by carrying off from the cathedral treasury an arm covered with plates of gold and adorned with precious stones. Round, *Cal. Docts. France*, No. 1438.

[6] "Roberto de Gandavo cancellario." Round, *Cal. Docts. France*, No. 1353.

[7] Robert was brother to Gilbert de Gant, afterwards Earl of Lincoln. *Monasticon*, V, 518.

[8] "Astantibus Radulfo cancellario." Round, *Cal. Docts. France*, No. 1319.

undated,[1] but it must have passed after the Queen had regained London on the flight of the Empress at the end of June 1141; for the witnesses include the three earls who remained faithful after Lincoln—Meulan, Surrey and Northampton [2]—with the Earl of Essex, who obtained a charter from the Queen at that time,[3] the Earl of Pembroke and William de Yprès, and the fact that the charter is attested by the Chancellor [4] implies that Maud was acting in the King's absence. For there is no reason to suppose that she would have a chancellor of her own, either as Queen Consort or as Countess of Boulogne, nor can I find any trace of such an officer; so presumably Ralf was the King's Chancellor. If this assumption be correct, it would seem that Ralf succeeded Philip de Harcourt in or after March 1140 and was himself succeeded by Robert de Gant in the second half of 1141 or in 1142.[5] If so, our charter to Robert of Leicester cannot have passed in 1140, and should probably be assigned to Professor Davis's alternative date, in 1144.

The use of "reddidisse" instead of *dedisse* shows that Leicester was claiming the *comitatus* of Hereford as the inheritance of his wife, who was granddaughter of Emma, daughter of William Fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford and sister of William, Lord of Bréteuil and of Roger, 2nd Earl of Hereford, who forfeited that earldom. But the Countess of Leicester was not the true representative of William Fitz Osbern, for even if the descendants of his other daughter were to be ignored, and the two disinherited sons

[1] Mr. Howlett says that this charter is dated 26 December (*Gesta Stephani*, p. xli), but that is the date of the *Inspeximus* at Bury St. Edmunds.

[2] Ord. Vit., V, 130. [3] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 118–20.

[4] "Testibus . . . et Radulpho cancellario meo." *Monasticon*, V, 452. Ralf's name follows those of the 5 earls and William de Yprès, but the text is known only from an *Inspeximus*.

[5] In which case the "R. cancellario" before whom a Bull of Innocent II was exhibited in 1140 or 1141 (*Ramsey Cartulary*, ed. Hart and Lyons, I, 108, No. 553), may have been Ralf, and not Robert, as Mr. Howlett supposed (*Gesta Stephani*, p. xxvii).

of Earl Roger were not legitimate, as they probably were,[1] the Countess was not the heiress of her father, Ralf de Gael. However, she had brought her husband the honour of Bréteuil, given her as dowry by her father, who had obtained it from Henry I after its forfeiture by Eustace de Bréteuil, illegitimate son of William de Bréteuil [2]; and Earl Robert undoubtedly aspired to stand in the shoes of William Fitz Osbern.[3] As Stephen was not in a position to cavil at the weak points in his claim, he "restored" him the *comitatus*, just as in 1153 the young Henry Fitz Empress, equally anxious to gain support, granted to Earl Robert the *dapiferatus* of England and Normandy, to which his claim was quite as weak; although here the verb is "dedi," not "reddidi." [4]

But whether *comitatus* implies the earldom is another question, and an examination of the text of the charter yields three arguments against understanding it in that sense:

(1) Although the charter contains the grant of the *totus comitatus*, this is reduced immediately by a number of exceptions, the lands of the ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief and the fiefs of four lay tenants-in-chief being all reserved. But an earl was earl of a whole county as a single unit, not of the separate baronies, towns, etc., into which the land forming the county was divided. Therefore the reservation of a number of fiefs from the grant of the *comitatus* implies that this was not the earldom but the county in its territorial capacity.

(2) The formula used differs entirely from those used in contemporary charters. When the grantee was not already an earl, the formula ran: "Sciatis me fecisse . . . Comitem. . . ." Both Stephen and the Empress used this formula.[5] But when the grantee already enjoyed comital rank, the words used were: "Do et concedo . . .

[1] Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 203.
[2] For the descent of Bréteuil, cf. Ord. Vit., IV, 185–7, 337, 339, 410.
[3] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 154; Harcourt, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
[4] Harcourt, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
[5] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 51, 97.

ut sit Comes " or " Do ei et concedo quod sit Comes." This formula was used by the Empress in two somewhat dissimilar cases : first when she allowed to Geoffrey de Mandeville the earldom of Essex already conferred on him by Stephen, and again when she granted an English earldom to Aubrey de Vere, who had previously obtained the *comté* of Guisnes in right of his first wife.[1]

It is only fair to note, however, that there is no charter or copy of a charter by which Stephen allowed an earldom to a man who was already an earl ; but it does not seem probable that his chancery would have evolved so entirely different a formula. It might be argued that this difference was due to the fact that the grant in question purported to be the restoration of the earldom ; but I do not think that this is an adequate explanation.

(3) In both the formulas above the word *comes* appears ; the grantee is not merely granted the *comitatus*, he is either created an earl, or, if he is an earl already, it is provided that he shall be earl of the *comitatus* in question. I suggest that this use of the word *comes* was essential to the grant or allowance of an earldom. For this view I rely particularly on its recurrence in the curious " shifting clause " in the charter of the Empress to Aubrey de Vere, which provides that the grant of the earldom of Cambridge contained therein should be valid only if that earldom were not already vested in the King of Scots, and that otherwise Aubrey should have his choice of four other earldoms. Here it might seem sufficient to say that Aubrey should have his choice of the four *comitatus* ; but the charter carefully provides that he shall be *comes* of whichever he may choose :—" Do ei et concedo quod sit Comes de quolibet quatuor Comitatuum. . . ." [2] Here the word " comitatuum " is clearly used in the sense of *counties*.[3]

[1] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 89, 181. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[3] So also in " Sciatis me fecisse Comitem de Gaufrido de Magnavilla de Comitatu Essexe," I take the last words to mean " of the County of Essex," and do not understand why Dr. Round considered that " Comitatus " here means " the dignity of an earl." *Ibid.*, p. 242.

In addition to the arguments deduced from the text of the charter, there is yet another reason for rejecting the theory that it was a grant of the earldom: the fact that the Empress conferred the earldom of Hereford on Miles de Gloucester. For neither the King nor the Empress ever issued a charter purporting to confer an earldom which had already been bestowed by the rival sovereign,[1] except as an allowance of the earldom to the grantee when he changed sides. Doubtless the reason for such abstention was the fear of preventing the new earl from deserting the enemy. Thus it is unlikely that Geoffrey de Mandeville would have thrown over Stephen, if the Empress had created a rival Earl of Essex, and so had put it out of her power to allow Geoffrey the earldom which he had already received from the King.

Therefore it may be argued that Maud would not have conferred the earldom of Hereford on Miles de Gloucester, if the Earl of Leicester had already received that earldom from Stephen; or, if the King's charter be the later, that he cannot have intended it as a grant of the earldom.

From all these considerations I submit that we may definitely reject the theory that Stephen granted the earldom of Hereford to the Earl of Leicester.

IV

The Earldom of Bedford

Bishop Stubbs includes the earldom of Bedford amongst those created by Stephen [2]; so does Dr. Round, although he seems to have felt some doubts on the subject.[3] Both these writers style Hugh "de Beaumont," but there is no evidence that he was ever known by that name, which had been borne by his father and grandfather. Actually he was styled Hugh "de Meulan" and Hugh "the Poor." The origin of the latter sobriquet is doubtful. It has been

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[2] Stubbs, *op cit.*, I, 410.
[3] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 271, 276.

generally supposed that the nickname was given to Hugh after he had lost his wife's inheritance in 1141, but Mr. L. C. Loyd has pointed out to me that Orderic calls him "the Poor" in Book XI of his history,[1] which was composed in 1136, as Delisle has proved.[2] It is true that Delisle has also shown that there are one or two passages in this book which must have been inserted at a later date, but there is no reason to suppose that the passage in which Orderic speaks of Hugh the Poor is a later addition; so it is more probable that the nickname was due to the contrast between his brothers' vast domains, and his own landless condition,[3] for he seems to have been entirely ignored in the division of his father's honours; although at a somewhat later date he would have been entitled to claim a share in the Norman fiefs.[4] According to Henry of Huntingdon, the Countess of Meulan had been carried off, whether by force or fraud, before her husband's death, by a certain earl[5]—presumably her second husband, William de Warenne, 2nd Earl of Surrey; and Planché treats the paternity of the younger children as doubtful.[6] But that is purely guesswork based on a story of doubtful authenticity, and it would not be safe to assume that there was such a reason for leaving Hugh landless.

However, towards the end of 1137 Stephen did his best to provide for Hugh by marrying him to the daughter and heiress of Simon de Beauchamp of Bedford, who had died not long before,[7] with the intention, it is said, of creating him Earl of Bedford. But Simon's nephew, Miles de Beauchamp, refused to surrender Bedford Castle, and

[1] Ord. Vit., IV, 169. [2] *Ibid.*, V, xlviii, xlix.

[3] He is styled Hugh the Poor in the notification of a transaction between St. Peter of Préaux and the Holy Trinity of Beaumont which took place in his father's lifetime (Le Prévost, *Notes sur l'Eure*, III, 98); but the notification must be of a later date.

[4] Cf. Génestal, *Le Parage Normand*, p. 10.

[5] Henry of Huntingdon, *De Contemptu Mundi*, p. 307.

[6] Planché, *Conqueror and his Companions*, I, 212.

[7] He was living in the spring of 1136. (Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 171.)

with his brother defended the castle so vigorously against Stephen that the siege was reduced to a blockade and the King departed. However, after some months the Beauchamps were compelled to surrender and Hugh obtained possession of his wife's inheritance.[1] But after the Battle of Lincoln, Hugh in turn had to surrender Bedford Castle and the barony to the Beauchamps and sank back into the obscurity from which he never emerged again.[2]

The belief that Hugh de Meulan was actually created Earl of Bedford is based on the three passages in the *Gesta Stephani* referred to above. Unfortunately the first of these is defective owing to a hiatus in the MS., and the passage begins in the middle of a sentence: " . . . Bedefordiae comitem efficeret." This seems to imply that it was Stephen's intention to make Hugh Earl of Bedford, when he had obtained possession of his wife's inheritance, rather than that he actually did so. This appears to be Dr. Round's view, as he dated the creation " ? 1138 "[3]; although Professor Adams thinks that the earldom was probably created at the end of 1137.[4] But when the historian has related the siege and capture of Bedford Castle, he adds briefly how Hugh subsequently lost it to Miles de Beauchamp:

" verum ipsum Rogerium[5] (*sic*) de comite militem, de milite pauperem, Deo judice, ordine mirabiliter transverso, effecerunt."[6]

Again, when the *Gesta* arrives at Hugh's fall in 1141:

" Sed et Hugo cognomine pauper, qui comitatum Bedefordiae, detruso Milone de Bellocampo, ex regia permissione possederat . . . castellum Miloni, vellet nollet, commisit, justoque Dei judicio de comite miles, de milite in brevi pauperrimus fuit."[7]

[1] *Gesta Stephani* (ed. Howlett), pp. 30, 31–2. The younger Beauchamp was named Payn (Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 171).

[2] *Gesta Stephani*, p. 73.

[3] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 271.

[4] Adams, *Political History of England*, II, 221.

[5] Probably the slip in the name is due to the writer having in mind Roger the Poor, Stephen's first Chancellor, as Mr. Howlett suggests.

[6] *Gesta Stephani*, p. 32. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

The second and third passages would prove that Hugh was an earl, unless the historian was misinformed or deliberately exaggerated his rank for rhetorical purposes, in order to make his fall seem the greater. It is difficult to estimate the likelihood of either hypothesis. The author of the *Gesta Stephani* is usually well-informed and trustworthy, but is not infallible. In the last passage cited above he seems to imply that Miles de Beauchamp had held the earldom of Bedford, which he certainly had not; and elsewhere he states that William de Mohun was created Earl of Dorset,[1] although William's own charter for Bruton Abbey proves that he was Earl of Somerset.[2] No other historian says anything about Hugh being created Earl of Bedford; and Orderic, also a contemporary and trustworthy writer,[3] makes no mention of the earldom when he relates Hugh's marriage and the siege of Bedford Castle.[4]

If Hugh did receive the earldom, he must have lost it when he lost Bedford and the rest of his wife's inheritance some three years later,[5] and unfortunately there is no charter attested by Hugh which can be assigned definitely to that short period; although there is one which very possibly was issued at that time. This is a charter of Morin du Pin, formerly steward of the Count of Meulan,[6] in favour of Dunstable Priory, the first three witnesses

[1] *Gesta Stephani*, p. 80.

[2] *Monasticon*, VI, 335. That William's earldom did not include Dorset is shown by the fact that Dorset was one of the four counties from which Aubrey de Vere was allowed to choose his earldom (Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 181).

[3] I cannot find any justification for the attacks on Orderic's good faith made by M. du Motey in his *Origines de la Normandie et du Duché d'Alençon* and *Le Champion de Normandie : Robert de Bellême*; cf. *Notes and Queries*, clvi, 165–8.

[4] Ord. Vit., V, 104.

[5] Cf. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 276.

[6] Morin du Pin was banished for life by Henry I in 1124, for instigating the Count's rebellion (Ord. Vit., IV, 461–3); but the King must have relented, for the Pipe Roll of 1130 shows that Morin du Pin and Ralf the Butler (of the Earl of Leicester) had been in joint charge of Leicester's lands in Leicestershire (P.R. 1130, ed. Hunter, p. 87). The note on the family by Merlet, *Cartulaire de Tiron*, I., 77, is inaccurate.

being Waleran of Meulan, his cousin Roger, Earl of Warwick, and " Hugone de Mellent, fratre comitis." [1] As it is attested also by Philip, Dean of Lincoln—*i.e.*, Philip de Harcourt, the ex-Chancellor—it must have passed within the years 1140–2 [2]; but it is impossible to fix the date more exactly.

Again, no impression or record of any seal of Hugh is known to survive.

However, the problem may be approached from another quarter. Evidence collected by Mr. G. Herbert Fowler proves that during the twelfth century Bedfordshire was appurtenant to the earldom of Huntingdon.[3] It was thus in the same position as Cambridgeshire.[4] Now at the end of 1137 the earldom of Huntingdon was vested in Henry of Scotland; and after the King of Scots and his son had gone to war with England in 1138 Stephen gave their earldom of Huntingdon to Simon de Senlis, as has been explained above.

It is possible that Stephen proposed to create a separate Earl of Bedford, just as the Empress proposed to create a separate Earl of Cambridge, if that should not infringe the rights of her uncle, the King of Scots; but the fact that Aubrey de Vere, who received the contingent grant of the earldom of Cambridge, eventually appears as Earl of Oxford, proves that King David had protested successfully against such a grant,[5] and it is highly probable that David and his son would have made a similar protest against a proposal to create a separate earldom of Bedford. After

[1] *Monasticon*, VI, 240; Fowler, *Digest of Charters in Cartulary of Dunstable* (Beds Record Socy., X, 81).

[2] Philip de Harcourt presumably received the deanery of Lincoln as consolation when he failed to obtain the bishopric of Salisbury in 1140, and held it until given the see of Bayeux in 1142. As Dean of Lincoln he attested the *pancarte* in favour of St. Nicaise de Meulan issued by Count Waleran in 1141 (Houth, *op. cit.*, No. 13).

[3] Fowler, *The Shire of Bedford and the Earldom of Huntingdon* (Beds Hist. Record Society, IX, 23–34).

[4] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 192–3.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 193–4.

their forfeiture Simon de Senlis would doubtless have taken up the same position ; for even before he had received his father's earldoms, his claim to them was indisputable.

No doubt Stephen may have ignored any protests and may have made Hugh the Poor an earl, but the fact that Bedfordshire was appurtenant to the earldom of Huntingdon weighs heavily against the existence of the alleged earldom ; and I think that we are justified in concluding that it is unlikely that Hugh was created Earl of Bedford.

SCHOOL LIFE IN MEDIÆVAL FINLAND—MAINLY IN THE TOWN OF VIBORG, ILLUSTRATED BY ROYAL LETTERS AND LOCAL RECORDS

By Donald Smith, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S.

Read 10 *April*, 1930

Christianity approached the Scandinavian lands but tardily. By the time of Anskar's[1] death in 865 there were churches at Birka in Sweden, at Hedeby in Schlesvig and at Ribe in south Jutland. . . . It was not until about 1150 that any effort was made to introduce Christianity to Finland.

With rare exceptions the spiritual significance of Christianity had but little influence upon the northern mind. It was as temporal powers and not as Princes of the Church that such prelates as Absolem[2] of Roskilde, or Trolle[3] of Upsala, or the series of Prince Bishops of Åbo influenced the public mind. The cultural values of Roman Catholicism weakened in inverse ratio of the distance from Rome. Until the time of the Reformation the parish priests of Fenno-Scandinavia were ignorant in the main, the Monastic Schools were few and ineffective. The only course open for those who desired an extended education was residence abroad, at Paris,[4] Prag, Leipsic,

[1] Anskar (801–65), born in Picardie. Monk at Corbie, and at New Corbie in Saxony. Founded school at Hedeby *circa* 825. Founded church at Birka, 829. Archbishop of Hamburg, 831, and Bishop of Bremen, 848. Built church at Ribe *circa* 850.

[2] Absolem (Absalon) (Axel), 1128–1201, foster-brother to Valdemar I of Denmark, 1157–82. Bishop of Roskilde 1158. Archbishop of Lund 1178. Led crusade against Wends and annexed Rügen 1169. Assisted in conquest of Pomerania and Mecklenburg 1184.

[3] Trolle, Gustav Ericson, Archbishop of Upsala 1513.

[4] See Finske studerande vid utrikes universiteter före 1640. Leinberg, K.G.

Lubeck, Rostock, etc. It was not until as late as 1477 that a feeble attempt was made towards the establishment of an University at Upsala, and, two years later, in 1479, another at Copenhagen.

The Reformation entailed an absolute re-orientation of cultural matters in Sweden. The financial needs of the moment caused a most ruthless spoliation of Church and Churchmen by Gustaf Vasa, following the Västerås Recess (1527). Brilliant scholars educated at the Lutheran universities, enthused by reformation doctrines, preached with unprecedented eloquence and wrote with unimagined power. The Bible was translated (1541).[1] Swedish literature began. "We Swedes," wrote one of the reforming Bishops, "belong to God, and the tongue we use was given to us by God."

But there was another aspect to be considered. As a consequence of the closing of the monasteries and the alienation of all funds, what schools there were, indifferent as they might be, were closed. Stripped of their power and possessions, chosen from the ranks of poor scholars and so lacking the powerful lay connections of the old prelates, instructed in brief to mind their own spiritual affairs, and not to meddle in mundane matters, discredited in the eyes of the populace, the Clerics were no longer able, nor indeed were they free to act as the educational service of the King. Vasa and his immediate successors found that an unexpected consequence of the Reformation was a most serious dearth of clerks. This was a matter of great concern for Sweden, for the reformation monarchs, great as administrators, great as economists, great as organisers, had a great and increasing need for competent writers in all departments of government administration.

They were great also in a ruthless indifference to birth. It is this fact that illuminates the never-ceasing interest

[1] The New Testament had already been rendered into Swedish in 1526 by Olov Pettersson, who was also responsible for a translation of the Psalms.

that the Vasas manifested for educational affairs and their unflagging attention to the minutest detail of school economy. No matter had a greater urgency to these monarchs than the provision of competent keepers of accounts, and so, in the midst of life-and-death struggles for the very national existence, one finds instances of Royal interest in the veriest minutiæ of tiny provincial schools.

The letters forming the basis of the following attempt to depict the school life of the border town of Viborg from 1570 until about 1667 are selected from a number dealing with the school matters of Finland which appear in a reprint of the State Papers dealing with Finland contained in the Royal Archives preserved at Stockholm. They appear in chronological order together with a mass of other matter, but with no attempt at editing, and with no explanatory matter. At the time of the Reformation there were in Finland two Dominican monasteries, at Åbo (1249) and Viborg (1392); three Franciscan, at Viborg (1403), Raumo (1449 ?) and at Hamnö in the Åland Islands (pre 1472); together with one Dominican 'Bergittine' nunnery at Nådendal (1438). Concerning the schools maintained by these institutions no certain information has survived, with the exception of the cathedral school at Åbo, founded in the mid-thirteenth century. Besides the monastic schools there existed burgher or town schools, at least at Viborg, Borgå and at Raumo; these, existing apart from the clerical control, were maintained by the Town Councils.

The immediate effect of the Reformation in Finland with regard to cultural matters was an absolute paralysis. The spiritual influence of the Bishops of Åbo had been practically nil. To the Finn, the Church, with Latin as the ecclesiastical language, was but another visible index of foreign domination. The commonalty hastened to follow the example of the King (Gustaf Vasa), and a most ruthless reduction of Church property was typified by the absolute destruction of the magnificent fortress palace of the Prince Bishops at Kuustö in the Åbo shärgård. The

King's admonitions to the clergy to foster education were nullified by his remorseless exactions. The schools of Finland were reduced to three, at Viborg, Helsingfors, and Åbo. The dispersal of the canons at Åbo left the Rektor absolutely alone to carry on. The Helsingfors school had but one master. The well-to-do declined to permit their children to be prepared for a ministry which offered neither lucrative posts nor popular adulation. The people, where not openly hostile, were indifferent. To them the Reformation meant solely that a meaningless divine service was now shorn of its spectacular attraction and was conducted, not in the unintelligible Latin, but in the equally unintelligible Swedish. Where the priests had laboured genuinely the people learned that great and essential doctrines of the faith which had been forced upon them at the sword's point scarcely two centuries before, and which had been upheld by the whole force of an irresistible social organisation, were now untenable.

Even among border towns Viborg (Finn "Viipuri") has something unique. Although lying within an old neolithic settlement area, and almost certainly in the vicinity of a Carelian trading centre of the early Iron Age (the neolithic merges into the early Iron Age, since in Finnish cultural history, the Bronze Age, properly speaking, is missing), the town owed its actual foundation to the third of the Swedish crusades to Finland. This military expedition, under the Marshal Torgils Knutsson, forestalled, in the spring of 1295, the hopes of the Estonian Knights of the Sword, and decided the long strife as to whether the suzerainty of Carelia was to fall to Novgorod or to Stockholm. It was not until the building of the fortress of Nyslott (1477) upon the still debatable Carelian soil that some sort of definite area was hinted at between Swede and Russ and the unstable frontier that still holds took birth.[1] Before his return to Sweden, Knuttson left a

[1] The Swedish Crusades: (*a*) The undocumented crusade of Erik the Saint, *circa* 1157, followed by military expeditions penetrating as far as

garrison strongly stockaded upon the island in the harbour. Under the vigorous handling of successive governors, the wooden palisades soon gave way to the stone walls of an exceedingly strong mediæval castle, southern Carelia was quelled, the Russian held in check, and what was first but a military outpost, became quickly a place of considerable commercial importance—mainly through the efforts of German traders attracted by the valuable Russian trade, particularly after the Neva route was closed by the Hansa in its quarrel with Novgorod—and patronised by the powerful Counts of the Castle.

Even to-day one feels the isolation of this border town. Whether the stark boldness of the castle strikes the eye with abrupt strength after the tedious rail journey through unvarying forest from Helsingfors, or whether, after a sinuous course through the innumerable islands of the shärgård, the old watch tower, formerly the belfry of the Cathedral, beckons one to the very wharves where the German from Reval and Visby, from Rostock and Lubeck bartered with Carelian and Russ, Viborg still gives the impression of an outpost. The broad lying security of Åbo, the idyllic quiet of Borgå, or Ekenäs, or of Lovisa, the modern keenness of Helsingfors give place here to a spirit, more austere, harsher in its self-reliance.

The present "old town," preserving in its tortuous streets and abrupt hills the same features as when the outcropping granite presented insuperable difficulties to the town builder and planner, and still clustering as closely as possible to the slope facing towards the island castle, can still be peopled in the mind's eye with the distinctive types of the Middle Ages. In the western quarter near the wharves lived the privileged German merchants in houses of wood, or even of stone, distinguished by the

Ladoga in 1162 and 1164; (*b*) following the destruction of Åbo and the total extinction of Swedish power and influence in 1198 by a mixed force of Carelians and Russians came the second crusade of Birger Jarl, who re-established the Swedish power firmly as far as the Kymene River, 1249; (*c*) the third, led by Torgils Knutsson, 1293, founded Viborg.

possession of chimneys.[1] Behind these, in an evil-smelling confusion, dwelt Carelian fishermen and bonders, their "smoke huts" barely distinguishable from the pigsties and sheepcotes, the stables and cowsheds,[2] except by the broad smudge where the smoke from the great oven escaped from the foul interiors under the low door lintels. Large walled enclosures housed the Franciscans and Dominicans, while the squat mass of the Cathedral, likewise enclosed, crested the central hill. All cultivable spaces, empty sites, amid a chaos of granite boulders, were cropped with patches of cabbages or of hops.

Housed within the town, a corporate community, living a life as remote from the townspeople as the gulls in the harbour, were the scholars (the Djekne, plural djeknar or djäknar—a corruption of Deakon (Swedish, Diakon[3]); sometimes vulgarly called "drenge" or dräng, plural drängar, modern "man servant" or "day labourer," a churl). These were distinguishable by their flat black hats and black shirt blouses, and in winter by a black cape. The school was not a monastic establishment, although it was always clerical. It was maintained by the town, and the schoolmaster was a town official with a seal, and was paid by the town, more or less regularly, until the Reformation reached Viborg in 1588, whereafter school and master became the concern of the State. The school is first mentioned in 1409. (The Rektor's name was Jop Jonsson.) There is a reference to a merchant of Reval, one Hintze

[1] An interesting census of property dated 1602 gives, among much other detail, the number of dwelling-houses and of *chimneys* in Viborg: In the four quarters of the Old Town, 143 dwelling-houses and 135 chimneys; in the New Town and two suburbs, 74 and 21 of each; Crown employés numbered 52 and 38; widows, 18 and 21 (?); noble families, 20 and 23; and the clergy, 14 and 16, making a total of 321 and 254 respectively.

[2] That Viborg was more unclean than the usual run of towns is apparent from the displeasure shown by Gustaf Vasa in his visit of 1555, and again in a precept of 1558.

[3] Another relic of monastic custom, since the majority of the scholars at the monastic schools would have taken lesser orders, in preparation to entry into the church.

Gruter, in 1415 sending his son to a cloister school—probably the Dominicans—in Viborg, so that it is apparent that both Church and Town were early known for their educational zeal. A more definite reference in 1485 states that on the establishment of a Merchants' Guild in Viborg, the schoolmaster undertook with the assistance of six scholars, to recite masses and to hold vigils for the dead.[1] This schoolmaster, Jacob Bodebek, is referred to as "Magister," which possibly indicates that he had graduated at some foreign university.

With but few exceptions all were "poor scholars." The chief source of maintenance was derived from parish visiting. At first each school drew from the indefinite immediate neighbourhood, but later from clearly designated parishes. As an example, Gustaf Adolf, 17 July, 1618, allotted to Helsingfors school the parishes of Helsinge, Esbo, Sibbo, Kyrkslätt, Vichtis, Janakkala, Sjundeå, Ingå, Stor-Lojo, Lampis and Hauho, besides the right the scholars had of begging in their own home parishes if they were other than those named. Continual efforts were made, first to systematise this system of legalised begging, and secondly to substitute for it a regularly collected school tax. No poaching was allowed. Definite times were prescribed in which the scholars were allowed to visit their parishes.

The scholars chosen for the purpose carried an authorisation from the schoolmaster and presented it to the pastor of the parish, who, in turn, announced from the pulpit the presence of the scholars and exhorted the parishioners to give freely. The gifts were in kind, mainly of meal, and

[1] The participation of Viborg scholars in the Vigils for the Dead parallels the monastic custom of a similar participation on the part of the "children of the almonry." The following extract from the description of a monk's funeral is taken from the *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 1903): "Then were the children of th'Aumery sitting on there knees in stalls, of eyther syd the corpes, appoynted to read Davids psalter all nyght over, incessantly, till the said hour of eight o clock in the morning, at which tyme the corpse was conveyed to the Chapter House." The Guild House in all probability still exists as the small square stone house in the yard of Keysargaten, 10.

must, in some cases, have presented difficulties of transport. The total collected was apportioned to the scholars, and sometimes to whole or part of the staff, according to custom. At Viborg in 1693 the summer vacation was changed from 14 July–25 August, to 25 July–21 September, since by the earlier date the bonders had not threshed their corn, and so had nothing to give, whereas payment was possible at the later date.[1] In 1693 it was enacted that the customary four visits yearly should be restricted to two visits only, but the county sheriffs were required to ensure that the scholars suffered no diminishment of dues thereby. In 1624 it was enacted that gifts in kind should be translated to a six orë tax from every household and that this should be collected by the parish priests and forwarded to the school. Such an apparently excellent law was ineffective, since many of the peasantry had no ready cash with which to pay even so small an amount. The abuse of this "parish going"—the scholars imposed upon the illiterate and superstitious country people even to the extent of performing illegal marriage services—led to serious condemnation by Gustaf Adolf, who attempted

[1] Elias Lönnrot, 1802–84, poet, compiler of the Kalevala, Kanteletar, etc., was enabled to pursue his studies by resort to "sockengangen." A vivid account of the whole business of parish visiting as practised from the gymnasium at Åbo in the mid-eighteenth century is given in S. Ödman's, *Hågkomster från hembygden och skolan* (1760).

The Latin school songs used freely in the Finnish schools appear to have been largely transmitted from pre-Reformation times. They were collected by a scholar from Nyland, Theodore Peter Ruuth, and printed at Greifswald in 1582, under title *Piae Cantiones Ecclesiasticae et Scholasticas veterum Episcoporum in inclyto regno Sveciae passim usurpatae*. These, although for long known, are referred to in *The Oxford Book of Carols*, 1928, "A very rare book . . . called Piae Cantiones . . . full of exquisite sixteenth-century tunes. . . ." (No. 141 in that collection is a translation.) Ödmann says, "Under hela advents tiden sjungos de efter gifvet lof af rektor, medan lärarne samlades och samspråkade i förstugan." The Piae Cantiones were printed a second time at Rostock by two Viborg schoolmasters, Henricis Martini Fatebur and Matthias Jacobus Tolin in 1625, and a third time at Visingborg, at the command and expense of Count Per Brahe, in 1679. In the school at Björneborg the singing of these songs occupied the first hour from 5–6 in the morning, prior to the reorganisation in 1830.

to regularise the whole matter by proclamation, 1626. The practice held in Sweden, however, until about 1770, while in Finland it survived here and there until the last generation.

Gustaf's proclamation of 23 May, 1626, prohibiting further parish going is a strong piece of paternal legislation and is well worthy quotation :

> We, Gustaf II Adolf, . . . (titles) . . . Make known that since We for some years in order to prevent the dangerous practice of Parish-going which Scholars in all parts of this land have for long time used and practiced, by Our published Mandate and Command have forbidden this Parish Going, since it hath been found both dangerous to youth, an hindrance to their studies, and troublesome to the people, and have ordered in place thereof that the people at a certain time of the year should pay according to their number a sum of money which shall be gathered by the Priest or Sexton of every parish, and to be required, paid, and sent to the School, and there by the Schoolmaster and Chapter, shared and divided among the school's personnel, So, although this method was found to be best, find We likewise that the Scholars do not receive their due, and cannot continue and prosecute the studies they have begun, but are compelled to break them and to revert to ignorance, partly because their needs are greater than the support received and that this support comes too late, and at ill times, and also that there is, for the great part, no money among our people, and so none to expect, Therefore We have found good to alter the same Our Mandate and Command, that in place of money the people shall give Kind and Food as formerly hath been the usage, which then and in like measure at the time of the year when the Scholars were like to go, may be gathered by the Priest and Sexton, and immediately, without delay, be forwarded to the school, there to be shared and divided, and the Scholars no less are forbidden Parish-going, perambulation, and beggary. The King therefore commands his subjects, nobles, priests, merchants, and commonalty to give due attention to the matter.

The apportionment of the comparatively wealthy parishes of Borgå and Pernå was a serious bone of contention. Originally lying under Viborg, the foundation of Helsingfors in 1550 by compulsory colonisation from Raumo, Ulfsby,

Ekenäs and Borgå, in much closer neighbourhood, opened a question that was only satisfactorily settled when Borgå itself became a Cathedral town and received its own school. Of this controversy there survives an interesting letter from the scholars at Helsingfors to the Secretary Royal (Erik Elfsson) at Stockholm, 1607:

THE PRAYER OF THE SCHOLARS OF HELSINGFORS TO THE SECRETARY ROYAL.

. . . We, the poor Scholars in Helsingfors in complaint, give you most humbly to know our great poverty and wretchedness, so that we are compelled to forego our studies, for those parishes from which formerly we had in some degree our support, are now quite exhausted by the passage of soldiery who, on their way to and from Liffland must travel by way of those parishes, Therefore, most humbly and obediently, we pray your Nobility that you, for the sake of God and Justice, may help us poor scholars and promote this matter with our most gracious Lord King, that we may receive but two parishes to our aid, namely, Borgå and Pernå, since their children have been disciplined and instructed here. They also have been here complaining, stating the injustice that is done them, namely, that a strange school receives their common alms and not their own children, which come here to school. For it is impossible to send their own children to Viborg town by reason of the great distance and strange peoples, and also by reason that their own business is conducted here in Helsingfors.

May God grant Your Nobility long and happy prosperity in all that is dear and precious to you.

Your Excellency's humble
SCHOLARS OF HELSINGFORS.

Besides singing at all the offices of the Church, the scholars aided the school exchequer by singing at marriages, festivals and burials.[1]

[1] That this singing for alms was not always unattended by a certain risk is abundantly clear from a Complaint from the Scholars of Helsingfors of 1619 (?):

Noble and most gracious Lord Governor. We, poor Scholars wish Your Nobility all Spiritual and Temporal Prosperity in Jesus Christ His Name.

Noble and Illustrious, We, poor and oppressed Scholars, free by privi-

Scholars were accepted on probation at the beginning of the autumn term, and were fully initiated at the Feast

lege from our Gracious Lord and King from all injustice, outrage and oppression, Yet has an ungentle man by name Isak Gisteson, Lieutenant in the Company of Nils Dobler of good esteem, broken our peace when we, as of old custom, sought the aid of good and honourable people of our town that we might continue our studies. It chanced on the day when we went around the town that the burghers were not therein, but were a mile without the town at a wedding and so we had nothing from them. When they came home later, we requested the Schoolmaster that we might visit these same burghers and receive alms. First we went to Burgher Anders Nilsson, where we made our petition as we should, and he then called us in. There were there also certain guests who were strangers, and we were detained by them awhile, so that it began to grow dusk and drew towards evening. When we went from Anders Nilsson directly to Derik Larsson, it happened that the aforesaid Isak Gistersson came from a Goldsmith's yard and fell upon us with a drawn sword, hewing in ernest at whomsoever he could reach. One he cut upon the hand, from another he cut the nose. The third, a chorister, he stuck in the back; the fourth he hewed in the head so that therefrom has been taken twelve pieces of bone and also upon the hand so that he is disabled all his days. So, with his extremest might he treated us while he could reach any upon the street. While he thus wrought in the street, one of the unwounded scholars fled along a lane by the shore on the ice, and since he was exhausted and could run no further he hid under a warehouse until he thought that the disturbance was passed. Then the scholar came back by the same way to return home, and thought to find his hat which was left upon the street, (which hat and all the others in the meantime was stolen). But when this scholar came up the shore lane he was met by the Goldsmith from whose house the violent man came. Then the Goldsmith called him from the yard where he lay in ambush and began to treat the scholar as he had the others, and hewed him in the head and face so that he is disfigured all his days, and his arm and hand maimed so that he may no longer use them. Moreover, when he had so murderously proceeded and manifested his warlike deeds, he reproached us, who lay half dead, saying insultingly, 'Now, indeed, are ye scholars.' Moreover, when our parents would have had justice upon him, he said, that as he had done to us, so he would do to them. So, this impious man has treated us poor scholars that we are of use neither to ourselves nor to others, whereas, formerly, had this malice not been, We, by God's Grace, had been able to serve the common good (i.e., in government service) or to the profit and service of God's people (i.e., as ministers of religion).

We unprotected Scholars send this sorrowful complaint to You that we may have a good and comforting answer, and that this evil man may be punished for his conduct and tyranny, and that his evil purpose and will may cease at once.

And may Your Eminence rest always under God's gracious protection.

Your Highness' humble and obedient servants

THE SCHOLARS OF HELSINGFORS TOWN.

of St. Gregory in the following March. This was a day of mark in the school year when extreme licence was given to the scholars. This was one of the three high days of the schools.

Concerning these three days, A. G. Hollander states :

"The Feast of St. Gregory was celebrated on the 12th of March in memory of Pope Gregory the Great (died 604), 'pater ceremoniarum,' the father of church music. Then was chosen from among the scholars a bishop, who, in his special robes, led the scholars in procession, followed by the Masters, first to the church where there were sermon and speeches, and afterwards around the town, whilst the youngsters in fantastic costumes collected at the doors. The whole high time was concluded by a feast provided by the family of the Boy Bishop." [1]

(*Note.* The choice of the Boy Bishop was arranged to fall upon one whose family could provide the repast.)

"At the Feast of St. Nicholas, the 6th of December, 'an episcopus puerorum' was likewise chosen, who in his robes appeared in Church on every Sunday and Holy Day until, and including the 28th of December, Holy Innocents Day, when the festivities concluded again with the unavoidable procession around the town and a banquet."

May Day, which, in the north, was frequently postponed until St. Erik's Day, the 12th May, was celebrated by the scholars in common with the townsfolk, the May King, decorated with leaves and flowers, striving with, and beating the skin-clad Winter King.

The day's work began at five in the morning. As late as 1830 the Björneborg school began at five, whilst the scholars of the lowest class swept, tidied and heated the schoolroom before that hour. At the same school after

[1] The assumption of authority by the Boy Bishop at the Feast of St. Nicholas till Innocents Day was widespread. The Records of Westminster Abbey under date 1360 states, "a grant from Simon Abbat and the Convent of Westminster to Frater Nicholas de Litlyngton Prior of Westminster, that on his decease they will celebrate his anniversary on St. Nicholas Day each year, also that from the outgoings of . . . the marshland at Southbenflet, all of which property the above Prior at his own charges united to the above Abbey, be distributed to the poor 6*s.* 8*d.* and 3*s.* 4*d.* for the *recreation of the Boy Bishop and his companions.*"

1830 the hours were 7–9, 10–12, 2–5, for a six days' week and compulsory church on Sundays.

The scholars were accepted from the age of ten years and remained sometimes a remarkable time at the school, twenty-five years of age being a by no means unusual leaving age, while cases were known of scholars attaining thirty years. To the usual disabilities of mediæval school life—lack of books, indifferent teaching methods, etc.—was added in Finland the extraordinary condition that no scholar was permitted to use Finnish, but that all instruction was given in Swedish.[1]

At Viborg the instruction comprised the mediæval "trivium"—grammar, rhetoric and logic, to which was added singing. Although the students were supposed to proceed to the Cathedral School at Åbo to complete their studies and for ordination, many passed direct to the universities of Prag (as early as 1398), to Upsala, Leipsic, Rostock, Greifswald, and later to Wittenberg, Dorpat, Paris, etc. That the teaching was effective enough was evinced by the fact that the two first reforming bishops of Finland, Michael Agricola [2] (at Åbo) and Paul Juustus (at

[1] The astounding attitude of the Swede intellectual with regard to the native Finnish language is illustrated in a letter from the Cathedral Chapter of Åbo to the Rektor of the Björneborg school (1748) which reads, "that since boys who could not read nor understand Swedish would spend their time fruitlessly at school, *they should not be accepted there.*" And following that comes an official regulation by the Governors of the same school in 1760, "that since the use of the Finnish tongue was very usual among the boys, the teachers, *having in mind the harm thereof,* should, each in his place, exercise the greatest pains that a habit, *so vicious in nature,* should be restricted to the greatest possible degree." Hence the use of the native language by the majority of the students was stamped as a crime, a remarkable state of affairs that persisted officially until 1843.

[2] Mikael Agricola, 1510–57. Fisherman's son from Pernå. Educated at Viborg. Taught at Viborg. Went to Åbo to continue studies. Attracted the attention of Bishop Martin Skytte, a Dominican monk, formerly Vicar-General of Dominicans in Scandinavia, chosen by Gustaf Vasa as Bishop of Åbo, and remained true to his vows of poverty and celibacy. Skytte sent Agricola to Wittenberg (1536–39). Here Agricola commenced translation of New Testament. Returned to Åbo as Rektor of the School.

Viborg) were both scholars of the Viborg School. The first of these, the son of an illiterate fisherman of the Pernå shärgård, won the enthusiastic approbation of both Luther and Melancthon, and ranks high among Reformation scholars as the Father of Written Finnish, being the first to translate much of the Bible into that tongue.

It was after the troublous times of Catholic reaction, when the schoolmaster, Gregorius Clementis, a Jesuit trained at Braunsberg and Rome, sent scholars to various Jesuit seminaries abroad, that clear records of the Viborg school appear. Clementis—a Dane—was a true scholar, and introduced the reading of Terence and Virgil into the school, but left the town in the train of Count John of Hoija,[1] the last of the ruling Counts of Carelia, in 1534 after his rebellion against Vasa. The letter following shows that the Sovereign had assumed direct control of the schools, that the masters received appointment direct from the Crown, and depended directly upon it for maintenance. They were paid from the proceeds of the confiscated ecclesiastical property.

LETTER OF MAINTENANCE FOR THE SCHOOLMASTER IN VIBORG.
LARS PETRI.

22/4/1570.

We, John the Third . . . (titles) . . . make known that We of Our especial Grace and Pleasure have willed and granted, and now, with this open letter We will and grant to Our Subject, Master Lars Petri, Schoolmaster in Viborg, in aid and yearly maintenance, three pund last meal, which he may require and receive of the Tenth that falls due in Jäskio parish. We have also, of Our Grace granted him a home named Soniensaari, lying within Viborg parish, free of all yearly dues and requirements which are there of use and wont. Those, Our Councillors, clerks, bailiffs, and all others shall order themselves accordingly,

[1] Count John of Hoija, brother-in-law to Gustaf Vasa. Last of the Ruling Counts of Carelia. Appointed 1525. Vasa's envoy to Lubeck, where he promised more than his instructions permitted. Kept Princely Court at Viborg. Opened Viborg to Hansa. Rebelled against Vasa. Fled 1534.

not doing the said Lars any hindrance or injury. Given at Our Royal Castle of Stockholm.

Soniensaari is an island in the Viborg shärgård containing several holdings to-day. If, as is likely, the Royal grant implied the whole island, the gift was considerable, and, with the yearly grant of meal,[1] and possible perquisites from extraneous town services, plus a finger in the results of the scholars' parish visiting, the schoolmaster would be a person of substance.

John (1568–92), the mediating transition King of Sweden, linking the work of Gustaf Vasa to that of Gustaf Adolf, set to work vigorously to set his distracted house in order. The letter of maintenance above is one of a series of three, the two others going to Åbo and Helsingfors (1568 and 1569). His interest in Viborg was shown in a second letter, placing the position of the schoolmaster beyond any doubt:

13th October, 1582.

We, John the Third . . . (titles) . . . Be it known that in order that Erik Olai, Schoolmaster in Viborg, may perform his calling and confided task the more fully, faithfully and zealously in the aforementioned school, teaching the youths good clean doctrine and otherwise informing them with other bookly arts, so that such persons may be found therein as may in good time be skilled to serve God's congregations and this, their dear fatherland, so have We, of Our good Grace and Pleasure willed and granted . . . (the former privileges).

However explicit the Royal grant might be, and however the need of the schoolmaster, it happened at times that

[1] With regard to the exact value of the grants of meal, it is difficult to state their equivalents. The tunn which is usually specified varied with the district and with time. As late as 1855 there were at least five differing values. The measure varied also with the nature of the goods. The tunn for wheat, rye, oats, to-day = 1·65 hectolitres. In the mid 1700 the Rektor of Åbo Academy received 120 tunn, the Sub-Rektor 70, the Senior Assistant 30 and the Junior Assistants 10 tunn yearly. At the same time an assistant Curate received board and lodging plus about 4 tunn of meal. He had to make his own bed, scrub his own floor, chop his own wood, and could not afford to marry. The last was the rough equivalent to a single horse load.

the distance from Stockholm, and the contempt or indifference of the local officials caused the King's writ to run awry. The fragment of a complaint from the schoolmaster at Helsingfors in 1557 indicates what did, at times, happen :

" Further, most gracious Lord and Duke, there was granted to me, wretched poor man, for my support at the school house in Helsingfors, two last meal, for which I thank your grace most humbly ; however, when I came to Lojo where I should receive the meal, it was all taken away, and I found no one who would obey my letter. . . ."

It was possibly to avoid this kind of mischance that King John considered the confirmation of the privileges bestowed upon the Viborg schoolmaster sufficiently important to form the subject of a letter of the same date as the confirmation, addressed to the conquering French soldier of Fortune, Pontus de la Gardie,[1] Governor of Ingermannland and Carelia :

" since Our subject, Erik Olai, Schoolmaster in Viborg, hath now served for one year in the aforementioned school, We require earnestly of you, that, of the yield of your Baillie, you may deliver to him as much meal in his support as his predecessors before him had, and also that you shall deliver to him in yearly maintenance, according to the Open Letter which we have given him, not offering him any hindrance or injury. . . ."

One rather wonders what de la Gardie, in the midst of his ruthless Russian campaign, thought of such matters as " the little schoolhouse of Viborg."

Another little note shows that the long arm of the Vasas did reach with sure effect to the distant border town, and it is pleasing to note that this receipt is typical of a great number :

[1] Pontus de la Gardie. French soldier of fortune. Served in Danish and Swedish wars. Married illegitimate daughter of John II of Sweden. Was given supreme command of forces in Finland when war with Russia began, 1570. Advanced from Viborg. Took Keksholm. Added southern Carelia to Swedish Finland. Overran Ingermannland, took Narva, freed Swedish Estonia from Russian forces. Caused Ivan the Terrible to sue for peace. Accidentally drowned crossing the river Narva after concluding peace, 1583.

"I, Christiani Bartholdi, Schoolmaster in Viborg, make known with this my handwriting that I have required and have received to full satisfaction of honorable Jon Jonsson, Royal Bailiff of Jäski Hundred, for my maintenance for the year 1600 of rye and corn, twenty and six tunn; also of the same I have received for the year 1601, of rye and corn, fifty and four tunn. To the further certainty and greater security I place my seal under this my writing, which is written in Viborg, Anno 1601. Dec. 23rd."

A letter from a noble of forceful character, the Governor Count Per Brahe, indicates that he was of the opinion that teaching required a liberal diet, while the receipt makes manifest that there was no delay in complying with the directions of any able Sovereign or Governor:

LETTER OF MAINTENANCE FOR SCHOOLMASTER JOHN MAGNI AND COLLEGIAN JOHN ELIAS AT TAVASTEHUS.

June 15th, 1639.

Since Herr John Schoolmaster with his Collegian Johanni Eliae are sent from Åbo hither, and have not the wherewithal to maintain themselves until they are able to enjoy the proceeds of Parish-going, the Bailiff in Säxmaki, Henrich Jacobson, is ordered for that reason that he deliver them for two months, food, Rye, malt, hops, flesh and brawn, butter, salt, vegetables, caper and fish,—with no neglect nor diminishment, so soon as they may be required, which they, thereupon shall acknowledge.

PER BRAHE.

Tavastehus.

Receipt for the above goods:

"These aforementioned goods have we, the undersigned, received in full from Bailiff in Säxmaki, Herr Henrich Jacobson, To witness thereof is signed in our own hand,

30th Oct. 1639. JOHANNES MAGNI.
JOHANNES ELIAE."

Reverting to Christiani Bartholdi, the manner in which he was appointed to the Viborg school is indicative, not only of the close interest of the Vasas in school matters, but states most clearly the views of the Sovereign as to

the purposes of the schools. These views were often stated, but seldom more clearly than in an undated letter of Gustaf Vasa to various of his bishops, in which his temper comes close to the surface,

"We are astonished at what the Schoolmaster in Strengnäs is doing, or what he teaches his scholars, since not one is able to write a true and clear statement of accounts for us. Scripture bids us not to cast pearls before swine, and, in like manner, worldly affairs and the highest State business, the Exchequer and the like should employ none but the best and most capable . . . in the service of King and Fatherland. Nevertheless We find, herr N. of Örebro and you other Bishops and Ordinaries in the Kingdom, that you send for our service in the high offices of State from your schoolrooms those who are least suitable for such labour, choosing, you and the Schoolmaster the vilest to be found in the whole crowd, none other than drinkers and beer swillers (ölhundar), dissolute and coarse scoundrels, who would be better engaged at the plough than in the high and momentous business of the state. Therefore we seriously admonish both You and the schoolmaster that you will deal otherwise in this matter, sending Us persons of understanding, skill and knowledge. . . ."

The letter recommending Bartholdi reads:

WE, John the Third . . . (titles) . . . make known that some time since We gave a certain Gregorius Clementis Our open letter upon the Viborg Schoolhouse, and also that We have since been informed by the writings of our Governors and others in that province that he is not serviceable in that calling, and so is not respected by the scholars, therefore We have cause to send another in his stead, and for that reason have confided and prescribed this Our true servant, magister Christiani Bartholdi, that he be Our schoolmaster in the market town of Viborg under the conditions and with the same profits as those before him enjoyed, and he shall be required to train and teach the youth there good and useful bookly arts and languages as his office doth require and which may be serviceable and profitable to all his hearers and pupils, so also he shall hold them in good discipline and conduct, preceding them with a good life and with such supervision, that they, in time, may be able and serviceable both in worldly and in spiritual and clerical matters.

We therefore exhort and earnestly require all scholars and young persons who now, and in the future shall attend the Viborg school that ye show the aforesaid master, Christiani Bartholdi, the humble and due attentiveness, obedience and respect, as to your lawful master, zealously observing that which he, to the praise and honour of God, to the enlightenment of His Holy congregation, to the welfare and profit of the worldly regement, to your own profit and use, may instruct, teach and present.

Stockholm. *Nov. 20th*, 1584.

From all which, reading between the lines, it is obvious that Clemens, Dane and Jesuit, scholar though he was, left very troubled waters behind for the protestant Christiani to settle. He also was a scholar of note, and assisted in the complete translation of the Bible into Finnish. The esteem in which he was held is indicated by another note in the forthright phrasing of Gustaf Adolf, which is one of a number giving a glimpse of the lovable side of that great man's character. Christiani had died leaving his widow, as scholars may, unprovided for. Gustaf writes :

WE, Gustaf Adolf, by the Grace of God, elected King and hereditary Prince of the Swedes, Goths and Wends, Grand Duke of Finland, Duke of Estonia and Westmanland—make known that We, of our peculiar pleasure and grace, have willed, granted and confirmed, as now, by this Our open letter will and grant to the bearer, Goodwife Anna, widow of the former schoolmaster in Viborg, Christiani Bartholdi, the six tun Meal and the six last hay, which she hath to require and receive by Letter of Grant from the Royal Commissioners, and which the Bailiff of Jäskis Hundred shall deliver to her yearly.

Gustaf Adolf. 1611.

This, surely the first of schoolmaster's widow's pensions, manifests the human and catholic educational outlook of Gustaf Adolf, an understanding sympathy which had already breathed in the School Ordinance of 1571,

" Since the labourer is worthy of his hire, the schoolmasters should be provided with a sufficient support, for it is certain that no one is better worthy a good recompense than a faithful and zealous schoolmaster."

With regard to Goodwife Anna, the Town Council gave her permission to trade toll free in the market for her own, and her children's support, so far as such trading did not extend beyond the limits of her own requirements. This valuable concession of Toll exemption takes an interesting aspect in the following letter of Exemption of Toll for Wine for the Schoolmaster of Viborg written from the Governor to the Clerk at the Castle:

March 5th, 1610.

Good friend Henrik John,

Since learned Magister Nils, Schoolmaster in Viborg, and Herr Simon, have received a hogshead of French wine for their weddings, I desire, on behalf of our most gracious Lord and King, that you permit them to be free of half the duty which should be chargeable thereon. This I understand His Royal Majesty hath most graciously granted.

God preserve you in Viborg always.

Although permission was always necessary, this immunity from toll extended usually to an item far more necessary than wine. The extreme rarity of books, resulting from lack of a printing press, was alleviated by the occasional visits of German chapmen. One of these was so unfortunate as to come at a time when the whole of the scholars were absent upon their periodical parish visiting.

Letter of Exemption of Toll on Books, to Mats Bartilsson (Financial Clerk at Viborg Castle).

Oct. 14th, 1614.

Natan Amsted, Bookseller from Lubeck, hath carried books hither meaning to sell, the which hath not taken place since the Djäknar are not here but out upon their parishes, and since it hath been usual for booksellers to be free from Toll, it is my order that he pass free and unhindered, he remaining no more than five days.

Arffued Tönesson.

Not only did the toll exemption extend to the books themselves, but, upon request, it covered shipments in kind intended for the purchase of books.

LETTER OF EXEMPTION FROM TOLL FOR SCHOOLMASTER MAGISTER NICHOLAUS MAGNI IN VIBORG, BY REASON OF PURCHASE OF BOOKS FROM GERMANY.

Dec. 24th, 1614.

On behalf of His Royal Majesty, my most Gracious Lord and King, I command Mats Bartilsson to allow magister Nils, to enjoy toll freedom for one tun butter which he has sent to Germany with Henrik Ovars to buy books.

ARFFUED TÖNESSON.

This matter of books has a useful complement in an actual request for exemption from the Rektor at Åbo School, 15 September, 1613:

"Dear Karsten Henrikson, most dear and all forgiving good friend, I am sending to Lubeck to Hermann Friez, Three Tun Butter and one half tunn Salmon, upon Shipman Henrik Simonssons ship in payment for books bought this summer for use in the Schoolhouse. And I beg of you in friendship most earnestly that the goods may pass outwards without payment of duty. Whatsoever I can be of service to you, that will I always most readily. Yours to command. . . ."

In connection with the same matter the Burghermaster of Viborg, Martin Henriksson, in 1611, sent three tunn butter and a number of deer and goat skins to his son Henrik who was studying the pure religion at Rostok. A later consignment was lost owing to the vessel being plundered during the Danish war, and young master Henrik—the same that Gustaf Adolf warned later (1616) that he "should beware of drink and other excitements"—studied in debt until four years afterwards, when in 1615 he received seven tunn butter and a load of tar. Even the King found it convenient to pay in kind, a Viborg scholar, one Jacob Toljas, being granted thirty tunn flour by Gustaf, in order that he might undertake studies abroad.

A circumstance that greatly hampered the progress of studies at this time was the conscription of scholars for service in administrative work. The sovereigns of the Reformation considered it to be one of the special functions

of the schools to provide them with competent clerks. This has been referred to already, and an earlier letter of 1564 from the King Erik IV to Peter Thomas Rautia, schoolmaster at Helsingfors, stated the principle so clearly that further elaboration was unnecessary.

We, Erik IV, by the Grace of God, King of the Swedes, Goths and Wends—make known that We, of Our especial pleasure and grace have granted and allowed Our true subject Petrus Thomae Rautia, Schoolmaster in Helsingfors that he may the more faithfully and zealously instruct the scholars, not only in that knowledge which is necessary to a right and true understanding of God's Word, but also in the other learned arts, that We, as need arise, may always obtain skilful scholars for the service of Ourself and the Kingdom, in yearly maintenance two last meal from the tenth (the church tithe) which is due in Hattula Hundred, as his predecessors have had. . . .

In 1567 two Viborg scholars were euphemistically "called from the schoolroom to the Royal Chancellory." While the practice was confined to the Royal service it could most certainly be justified, but the matter took another aspect when it spread to Royal officials of all grades and to members of the nobility. In justice to the Crown it must be stated that the conscription of scholars by unauthorised persons was regarded as a serious infringement of Royal prerogative and was roundly condemned. The Letter of Protection from John III at Upsala for the scholars at Björneborg School, 14 October, 1590, illustrates both the gravity of the matter and the Royal attitude towards it :

WE, John III, by the Grace of God, King of the Swedes, Goths and Wends, Grand Duke of Finland, Carelia and Ingermanland in Russia, Duke of the Estes in Liffland,

May it be known that Our faithful subject herr Lars Johannis, Schoolmaster in Björneborg, hath humbly given us to know that Our Nobles and also others, have taken Scholars from the school under the pretence that they took them for Our profit and advantage, and therefore he hath humbly requested Our Royal Letter of Protection that these same scholars may be

quite released and returned, It is hereby forbidden to all, in whatsoever position or calling he may be to cause injury or detriment to the same Scholars at that school. . . .

This letter was followed by another of the same tenor in protection of the scholars at Åbo, July, 1591. With regard to Viborg, it is pleasing to note that the schoolmaster there was a man of mettle sufficient to stand square against the principalities and powers, and, in the knowledge of Royal sanction, to hold his own. In the summer of 1555 the powerful Noble, Gustaf Fincke,[1] took a scholar with violence to Viborg castle. The following year he had the effrontery to demand that two should be sent to him to Nyslott. One can but rejoice in the tone of the letter sent in reply :

" You know well," wrote the schoolmaster, " that so far as belongs to learning and to Christian discipline, I control the scholars, but that I should compel any with violence, I have no right."

It was obvious that if Fincke thought he had such right he could exercise it when, during the vacations, the scholars were upon their parishes. The students, however, hearing that Fincke required writers at Nyslott, gave the district a wide berth, much to the noble's annoyance.

The assured position of the schoolmaster in those times under the direct patronage of the sovereign, led one in Viborg to venture upon the extreme of luxury, the building of a stone house. This was noteworthy. With the exception of the Royal castles, certain of the churches, and a very few of the nobles' castle-like houses, there were no stone buildings. Viborg is the only town in Finland with mediæval stone dwelling-houses remaining. Town planning and building was a matter close and dear to the heart of

[1] Gustaf Götriksson Fincke (1510 *circa*–1566), tyrannous, unscrupulous, capable and hard driving. Rose to highest place in the Royal favour in the administration of Finland. Count of Nyslott, and later of Viborg. Took, under the sovereign, the leading place in the extension of Finnish influence by colonisation to the east and north.

the Vasas, and the ever beneficent Gustaf came generously to the schoolmaster's aid :

WE, Gustaf Adolf . . . (titles) . . . give you, Henrik Olsson and Henrik Jonsson, to know that Our true subject, honourable and well learned magister Henricus Fatebur, Schoolmaster in Viborg, hath given Us to know in supplication, that he hath undertaken to build a stone house in Viborg to the embellishment of that town, of the which we hath testimony from the Burghermaster and Town Council, humbly requesting aid thereto : and so, in order that others may be encouraged to build stone houses also, We have, of Our Grace, granted him 100 dalers coin, and it is Our Will and Command that ye pay him this 100 dalers coin from the Castle treasury according to this command.

Stockholm. 12 *April*, 1627.

This letter is the more striking for the grant of the very considerable sum to be paid in cash. The glory of the stone residence, however, was short-lived. One of the periodic fires reduced the master to a houseless state. This fire of 1628 was so disastrous that Gustaf granted a six years' indemnity of taxes to all who would rebuild in stone. This privilege was re-enacted no less than three times following successive fires. After the fire of 1628 the schoolmaster appealed in distress, and not in vain, to his Royal patron. Gustaf was almost on the eve of his departure to Germany, and yet, amid the welter of international affairs and the unique political tension leading to his decision to cast all into the struggle of Protestantism versus Roman Catholicism, he turns to the Viborg school :

We, Gustaf Adolf . . . (titles) . . . make known that since Our true servant magister Henrik Fatebur, Schoolmaster in Viborg, hath, by reason of fire in the town lost his stone house and otherwise suffered great loss, We, of Our will and grace by this Our open letter grant and deliver to him for three years the Crown Homestead, Ruokola in Stranda Hundred in Viborg province, free from all dues whatsoever that might be claimed therefrom.

March 17th, 1629.

For the rebuilding of the schoolhouse itself collections were made over the whole country. In the meantime the school was held in the Cathedral.[1]

The number of flat black hats in the town was rapidly increasing in these times.

The school extended first to the Trivial school type with four classes, and then to the full Cathedral type with six classes. One cannot wonder that, among the number of scholars, one here and there attained a remarkable proficiency in Latin since of the fifty-one weekly hours, as many as thirty-three were devoted to that language, religion and music receiving six apiece, and prayer and psalm singing six.

The town had now lost its last faint right of control over the school, and the reins of government had slipped in part into the hands of the Bishop and Chapter. The first letter to the school from Christina, Gustaf's daughter, then a minor, on November 16th, 1635, indicates this re-orientation of policy :

WE, Christina . . . (titles) . . . make known that since the Bishop and Chapter—under Our gracious pleasure and ratification—for some time past, have accepted well learned and honourable magister Henricus Borsman as Schoolmaster in the town, most humbly requesting that We may confirm him therein, so have We graciously considered this their request and do hereby ratify magister Henricus Borsman as Schoolmaster in that town. And as first and in all things he shall be duly bound to be faithful, true, and law abiding to Us and to the Swedish crown, to seek Our profit and good in all things, to notify all detriment and injury, and with his whole ability aiding in the removal of the same, So also shall he teach and train the youth there abiding with the greatest zeal, especially in God's pure and undefiled faith, in bookly arts and in necessary languages, and otherwise preceding his disciples with good example and irreproachable life, in sum, both with knowledge and in life conducting himself as he shall be answerable to God,

[1] The universal use of church buildings for school purposes had a classic example in Sweden in the famous school founded in 1636 by Count Per Brahe—a school made particularly notable in that it possessed its own printing press from 1667.

to Us, and to all honourable men, In order that magister Henricus may be able to labour the better in this his confided calling, We grant him the maintenance and properties his predecessor in office had and enjoyed. To all whom this concerns.

The great day of Viborg School came in 1641. Then, with great rejoicing, festivities, a special mass in the Cathedral and salvoes of shot from the town walls, the old Cathedral school received the complement of a gymnasium. The Royal Proclamation stated that the school was founded "for the common good, for the uprooting of barbarian customs which were of old times." The gymnasium had now the power to demit priests and entirely controlled its own jurisdiction. The considerable teaching staff now consisted of six lektors for the gymnasium; two "theologiae," one "philosophiae," one "eloquentiae," one "logices et poeseos," and one "graecae linguae et physices et mathematecos"; to their number, later, one being added for history and politics. The school had a rektor and a sub-rektor, two collegii and an apologist, the latter taking the classical failures as a "modern class."[1]

The old practice of payment in kind had ceased, a fixed tax, the "school pence" having taken its place. This "school pence," a hearth tax of six öre, caused serious complaint in Carelia which now was separated from Viborg. The Governor of the new province (Johan Skytte) who followed Pontus de la Gardie, established a school in Kexholm,

"to disperse the barbarity which is stamped upon the inhabitants of Carelia and Ingermanland, and also that the Russians might be converted from their delusions to God and Jesus Christ."

The people of Carelia objected to both school and tax and petitioned Queen Christina about the matter. Her reply was curt and to the point,

[1] The broad educational outlook of the Vasas went far beyond their time. Their thoughts travelled beyond State and Church, to the needs of trade and craft.

23rd Sept., 1632.

The six öre school penny was granted by the Riksdag and cannot be repealed. Much less can the school be abolished. But those who do not wish to send their children may refrain and none shall be compelled thereto.

The collection and yield of the school tax, however, left much to be desired. The scholars still, although unauthorised, went upon the parishes, and complaints of the schoolmasters as to unpaid salaries become more and more painful reading. In 1673 the whole staff of the Viborg school pleaded (May 12th) for the preceding year's salary:

"that they might have something upon which to live and also the wherewithal to satisfy a number of their creditors."

The new institution had, however, again a seal of its own, "made by goldsmith Henrik Potthusen of six lod (about three ounces) of silver," together with its own legal constitution, and, in consequence, soon encountered the ill will of the town officials. This ill-will smouldered for years, breaking out at times into open rupture. The cause of all the bother was the independent School Court. The townspeople found it difficult both to recover debts from the scholars or to obtain commensurate punishment for injuries. The magistrates refused to send their sons to study at the gymnasium, while the masters complained "that here in the town, an errand boy is more esteemed than a litteratus," and "that the townspeople esteemed learning no more than that it enabled their sons to sign their names, and to cheat the peasants." In many matters the students themselves were not blameless. One, Trojanus Burchardt, clockmaker, whose business it was to tend the school clock, did so in such fashion that one hour was frequently lengthened into two, or that the clock struck twice or thrice in the hour. This led to a disturbance of the school studies, and he was attacked one day in the church steeple by the students and beaten so severely that he failed to regain his health and died in the following year. The townsfolk were thor-

oughly roused and sent the Public Prosecutor to arrest the delinquents. The School Collegium refused to acknowledge the town's authority. On being referred to the High Court at Åbo, it appears that the School won the case. Street fighting among the students disturbed the townspeople.

"Late one evening a great conflict arose outside Johan Tesches door, and when he, awakened from his night's sleep, came out in shirt and slippers, they whipped the old man black and blue."

Such disorders were also experienced at Åbo, where the Bishop stated that the students

"neglected lectures, wandered the streets at nights, broke windows, disturbed and threatened the citizens, and, like the children of the devil, were prepared for all manner of offence."

Most definite information is available from the Town Records of Helsingfors—where the school had no separate jurisdiction. On March 16th, 1672, the Town Justices inflicted the serious fine of 40 marks apiece upon scholars Johannes Fischovius, Henricus Henrici and Johannes Johannis Stahl for the reason that,

"they, being under the influence of drink, visited twenty-five houses (gårdar) in the town, breaking windows with such haste and evil persistence that no one knew the guilty ones until they themselves confessed and acknowledged it."

All told, they had broken three whole windows and 214 panes. On another occasion the Rektor Abraham Carstenius denounced scholars Salomon Stichaeus and Erik Jundelin for breaking 190 panes in the schoolhouse in the night-time.

This entry also appears among the town records, 1693:

"As the Curate Johan Porthanus and director cantus Bartholdus Härtz (the junior schoolmaster) sat together one evening in the Inn, it happened that they, drunken as they were, chanced to quarrel. Härtz reviled the Curate as the Devil, the Devil's Whelp, etc., and said to him that the Devil dwelt within him.

The Curate became wroth and struck the Schoolmaster with a clenched fist, so that he had a black eye. The matter was taken before the Court, but the parties were reconciled."

"For studying too deeply in the beer can," as Gustaf Adolf phrased it, and for other misdemeanours the scholars made acquaintance with the crude punishments of the school. School jurisdiction at Åbo extended even to the death sentence. The death penalty was actually pronounced upon a student, Eolenius, mainly by reason that he commenced the study of Hebrew on a Thursday evening, and also that his rapid acquisition and extensive knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac must have been accomplished by the aid of the Devil. Fortunately the humane common sense of the Governor and Chancellor, Count Per Brahe,[1] was able to view the matter in its proper light, and to release the poor wretch. Confinement in the school's lock-up (up to fourteen days on bread and water), an unsparing use of the ferule and birch—"since the students had none other wherewith to pay than with their backs," and finally relegation for a time, or for good, preserved due discipline within the ranks.

A clash between school and town that developed a sufficient importance to be referred to Christina's Council of Regency and for that Council to review in full session as of prime concern is given in "The Complaint of the Consistory Court at Viborg to the Royal Council. July 4th, 1657."

This, shorn of its verbal decorations, stands thus:

Since, in this town, after the fearful news that the Russians had broken the boundaries no less could be believed than that they would burst also into this town with the same fury, since no soldiers were stationed here and the whole land could

[1] Per Brahe (Per = Peder = Peter) (1602–80), Count of Visingsborg, Baron of Kajana, Lord of Rydborolm, Lindholm, Brahelinna and Bogesund, Royal Chancellor and Privy Councillor, Sheriff of Västmanland, Bergslagen, and Dalarne, Governor-General of Finland 1637–40, 1648–51–54. Possibly the most notable Governor Finland ever had. Lived in Royal State at Åbo. Spoke of his "Kingdom" and of his "Subjects."

be overrun in the same haste, then Colonel Erik Andersson, Governor and Councillor, together with the Burghermaster and Town Council, did pray earnestly that we would permit and persuade our scholars that they should stand watch upon the town walls with the Townsfolk for fourteen days till some other arrangement could be made, with the assurance that none should be required or compelled after the fourteen days,

There, in such a time of extreme need, We were found willing immediately and the Scholars offered, not only to hold their watch, but also to stand with the Burghers should the enemy attack, and to offer life and blood upon the walls for Her Royal Majesty, the Fatherland and the Town. But when they had stood their watch for fourteen days and nothing of the enemy appeared and there began to gather soldiers and country people from the land, then the Scholars, desiring to be freed from their task and to betake themselves to their studies again, went to the Castle desiring to lay down the arms they had taken up,

Then they were unreasonably insulted and required with unmerited threats to hold guard another fourteen days, so that of fear a number did take arms again, but a greater part of the better born did not . . . yet offering none the less, as formerly, to go and fight upon the walls whenever the enemy should so press forward (which God prevent), Then they were retained within the Castle a day and a night with hew and blow, at their own cost and thereby driven to the walls again and compelled to take up arms, and so were compelled and taken quite from our jurisdiction, to service to the which ourselves should have brought them had there been need with avoidance of shame and untimely compulsion.

For reason of this shame, compulsion and disrespect a great number of the better born are so annoyed and embittered that they are minded to renounce their studies and betake themselves quite from this place, whereby the Gymnasium may easily be dissolved and ruined and God's congregation in this place suffer great loss. . . .

Hereby We beg most humbly that our Privileges and due Security be Confirmed, that We, in these most troublous times may perform our duties the better, with zeal and satisfaction, and not with sorrow and sighs.

To this complaint the Regency Council forwarded a very politic reply, together with a letter to the Governor that

the clergy of the Consistory Court and the scholars were to be treated with discretion.

The rift between town and school was widened by the establishment by the Town Council itself, in 1638, of a German school the master of which was appointed and maintained by the burgesses, and so the old order returned. This school was remarkable among schools in the fact that it was a mixed school (boys and girls) and seems to have been the precursor of all commercial schools, the subjects, at first, German, writing and arithmetic, being reorganised in 1726 to include German, Russian, religion, arithmetic, writing and book-keeping. The appeal of the Consistory Court as to the illegality of the town maintaining its own school was rejected.

Justice, however, was tempered with mercy, as the following shows :

We, Charles the Twelfth . . . (titles) . . . have received your letter of July 19th, wherein you humbly beseech aid towards rebuilding the burned Gymnasium and Trivial Schools in Viborg since neither men nor materials are at the disposal of the Consistory Court. So We have ordered Governor Lindelhjelm that he shall issue from the Castle stores so much of logs, stone and boards therefrom as can be spared without prejudice for one year, to the raising of these public buildings. This, We, of Our Grace, grant and bestow. Herewith commending you to God Almighty. Given at our Castle of Stockholm. 1690.

The fortunate position of Viborg in comparison, for example, with Helsingfors of two years earlier is manifest from an existing inventory made by Georg Kijhl on his appointment to that School, 30 October, 1688.

" The School House," we read," is old and quite dilapidated, all the jointing of the east wall, which leans outward badly, is rotted through, so that wind and weather enters everywhere : the Chimney split and cracked, and open to the weather ; the Master's Chair leaning ; the lower schoolroom without floor, door, ceiling, or any appurtenances, its roof, as well as that of the Porch, broken like a sieve ; the ceiling and roof of the

School itself leak; windows and frames old, but sound, with exception of some broken panes. . . ."

The cost of reparation here was thrown upon the town. To the credit of the gymnasium at Viborg must be placed the introduction of a printing press, the third in Finland. The dependence of the town upon itinerant booksellers from Lubeck, Rostock, etc., was a serious hindrance to study, and, during war times, the service was erratic. At times the town was destitute of stationery supplies. In 1652 the wife of the Governor wrote, "I cannot purchase a sheet of paper in the town, even if I gave a ducat a sheet." Permission to establish a printing press was obtained in 1677 and but for delay which necessitated the press being set up in 1688, the Viborg school press would have been the second in the country. The first, which survived but a short time, was established at Åbo shortly after the foundation of the gymnasium (1640). From then until 1688, a few months before Viborg, the country was without printing. Then Bishop Gezelius established one at his own cost at Åbo.

The Letter of Authorisation to Viborg is noteworthy in that it places Finnish as a culture language three centuries before its official acceptance as an administrative tongue.

Oct. 5th, 1667.

. . . Be it known that We, upon the humble petition of the Gymnasium and Lektors of Viborg that a printing press be granted them in their institution, for the exercise and learning of Youth, to the better promotion, increase and continuance of knowledge, have willed and granted and by this Our Open Letter do empower, that they may procure a press and hold it with authority so far that it be right well used and busied in such work as is useful and profitable and not beyond that to any misuse with unnecessary and forbidden matter, writings and books and wherein they may strive with diligence and manifest their zeal, desire and industry in Spiritual, historical, and other good and lovely works, to print them in Finnish from other

languages, as in that place were a useful, fruitful and praiseworthy thing.

The establishment of a press may well mark the end of the mediæval tradition. By one of those strange turns of fate with which history presents us many examples, this consummation of educational progress preceded by but a few years the end of the old political regime. Thirty-two years after the setting up of the press, twenty years after the rebuilding of gymnasium and Trivial Schools, Peter's Russian troops burst over the border, beleaguered Viborg, and, in spite of all efforts at relief—one is glad to read that the students of Åbo marched in aid of the stricken town—the old stronghold fell. One wonders whether the gymnasiasts took watch and ward upon the walls, for, if they did, then the last of the black-caps were marched away with the garrison to end their days in the Russian prison camps, for a remnant only returned after the Peace of Nystad, 1721, which ceded Viborg town and province to the Russian crown.

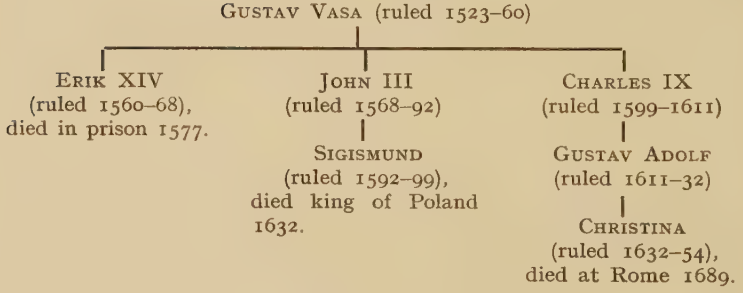
APPENDIX I

Note on Place-Names

The names given in the above paper are in the form in which they occur in the majority of the authorities. That is, the Swedish form is given for those places which owed their existence entirely or mainly to Swedish influence (or where Swedish influence came to predominate), and the Finnish form for those places deriving from Finnish origin, untouched wholly or in the main by Swedish influence.

APPENDIX II

The Vasa Family


Gustav Vasa (ruled 1523–60)
Erik XIV (ruled 1560–68), died in prison 1577.
John III (ruled 1568–92)
Sigismund (ruled 1592–99), died king of Poland 1632.
Charles IX (ruled 1599–1611)
Gustav Adolf (ruled 1611–32)
Christina (ruled 1632–54), died at Rome 1689.

THE SPANISH RESISTANCE TO THE ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF JAMAICA, 1655–1660

By Irene A. Wright, B.A., F.R.Hist.S.
Fellow of the Dutch Royal Historical Society (Utrecht)

Read 8 May, 1930

The story of Cromwell's seizure of Jamaica (May, 1655) has been told in detail drawn from English and from Spanish sources. Far less has been written of the hard fighting, by sea and land, which the invaders found necessary during the next five years, because of the Spaniards' resistance to the English occupation. It is the purpose of this contribution to describe that resistance, especially from March, 1656, when the Jamaicans took the offensive (after receipt of some small relief from Cartagena de Indias), to May, 1660, when Don Cristóbal Ysassi Arnaldo, last Spanish governor of the island, withdrew to Cuba, undone by the disaffection of the negroes who had been his chief support.[1]

[1] This account is written from original documents (Spanish) existing in the General Archives of the Indies, at Seville, Spain, of which transcripts are on file in the West India Reference Room of the Institute of Jamaica, at Kingston. These have been compared with English sources to be found in the British Museum Reading Room and Manuscript Department. While much else was seen, most help was found in *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, London, 1742; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Addenda*, 1574–1674, London, 1893; D'oyley's Journal, Additional MSS. 12423.

The quantity of original material (Spanish) available at Seville and bearing on Jamaica at the period under consideration is overwhelming. Fortunately for the investigator, it lies almost entirely in two *legajos* (packages), numbered 54–3–29 and 79–4–6. The documents are well preserved original communications and copies (certified, authenticated

It will be recalled that the Spaniards who remained in the bush when Governor don Juan Ramirez de Orellano went into the English camp, not to return, violated the existing truce and repudiated the articles of capitulation which Don Gerónimo Tello brought to them at Bunducu, where they assembled to consider the English terms (May, 1655). This policy was inspired by Campmaster don Francisco de Proenza, who succeeded to leadership upon the governor's departure, a policy in which Proenza, old and infirm, was supported by younger relatives,[1] among them *Sargento Mayor* don Cristóbal Ysassi Arnaldo.

and simple) of communications interchanged between the crown (king and councils) in Spain and its ministers (especially governors in Jamaica and adjacent islands). Furthermore—advanced as evidence in subsequent legal proceedings—there are valuable communications exchanged between these ministers and their subordinates. It has not been possible to cite in the footnotes more than a few of the many papers handled in preparation of this contribution.

[1] The Spaniards concerned in Jamaica's defence were confusingly intermarried. Don Francisco de Proenza and Don Cristóbal Ysassi Arnaldo were related either by blood or marriage, or by both. Don Francisco's wife was Doña Ynez de Leiva y Espinoza. Don Francisco de Leiva was Leiva Ysassi and his wife was Doña Lorenza Ysassi, sister to Don Cristóbal. Don Francisco de Leiva's only son was Cristóbal de Leiva Ysassi and Don Cristóbal Ysassi's nephew as well as his second in command. Just as Don Francisco de Proenza was the most influential man in Jamaica at the time of the English seizure, so was Don Francisco de Leiva the richest. Among its members (including the Cartagena) this one family had become accustomed to divide what few offices and scanty honours the island afforded. Similarly, they now made the war against the English a family affair. It is interesting to observe that with the departure from them of the governor (an official named by the Duke de Veragua, and imposed from Spain) the defence of Jamaica early devolved upon its native sons.

The Ysassi were a distinguished family, with roots running back to the north coast of Spain. An ancestor of Don Cristóbal's had come to the island as warden of a fort on the north coast. This must have been at the time of Jamaica's earliest settlement since after that period not even the semblance of a fort existed upon that side of the island. Cf. Long, Edward, *The History of Jamaica*, British Museum, Add. MSS. 14405, p. 80 *et seq.*

Ysassi's father was Captain don Cristóbal Sanchez Ysassi, and Don Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, governor's lieutenant at Santiago de Cuba, was but one of Don Cristóbal's numerous brothers. Another seems to have been Sebastian de Ysassi Proenza (*A. de I.*, 54–3–29, his letter to Don Blas, from Havana, July 8, 1661). Still another brother was Don Francisco

Nothing has been seen to show in what Don Cristóbal was engaged between May, 1655, and March, 1656, but presumably, as *sargento mayor*, he had his share in skirmishes which occurred and in the Spaniards' general retreat northward during that period. It is possible that he crossed to Cuba and returned to the headquarters at Santa Ana (Saint Ann's ?), where Proenza was, when he learned that the first relief to reach the island, sent by Governor don Pedro Zapata from Cartagena, had reached Pozo de Ayron, a port on the southern coast. At all events, upon receipt of news that this relief had been landed, Proenza promoted Ysassi from *sargento mayor* to lieutenant-campmaster in command of military operations, and sent him south in early March, 1656.

Arrived on the southern coast, Ysassi found that the arms (lances and machetes) which Governor Zapata had sent, had been distributed and the subsistence (salt, wine, vinegar, maize, casabe) consumed. He cached the powder, balls and fuse which were left and, so encouraged, opened an offensive campaign. Ysassi's strength at this time was

Arnaldo Ysassi, bishop of Porto Rico (Leguia to the bishop-elect, November 6, 1656, in *A. de I.*, 54–3–29). Nevertheless, in studying his papers the editor has come to the conclusion that Don Cristóbal was not all white, although no conclusive proof could be cited on which to base assertion that he was in some degree of blood related to the negroes who fought under him, whose support he preferred, whose sympathy he held, upon whose valour he relied, whose desertion, only, convinced him of defeat.

His letters, preserved in the Archives of the Indies, show that Don Cristóbal was not an educated man. The involved style of his writing is complicated by the use of curious expressions and unusual words, which should interest a philologist. His spelling would doubtless be found to throw light upon the accent with which he spoke. Just as his literary shortcomings obtrude through his despatches, so also does Don Cristóbal's character—his pride, not devoid of vanity, his voluble patriotism and religious ardour, his inability to co-operate, his resilient courage. While he felt it necessary to explain when he killed his prisoners because he considered it unsafe to keep them, he did not apologise for his delight in a fine watch, a dainty pistol, a curious seal, a handsome sword, and good clothing, of which he relieved the dead. Some of these mementoes of his valour he kept and some he sent to his friends, and to the governors at Santiago and at Cartagena. He paid his men in loot and, as their leader, took the leader's share.

45 men, of whom he says[1] 30 were white and 15 were negroes he had drawn to his support from a stockade where they maintained themselves in isolation and independence from their former masters.[2]

Until now, neither the Spaniards nor the negroes had been giving the English much trouble, though they continued to kill stragglers, and Sedgwicke and Goodson felt, and feared, the proximity of a considerable body of enemies.[3] Now, however, Don Cristóbal's attacks and ambuscades incommoded the intruders and affected their prospects, inasmuch as news went abroad that " skulking Negroes and Spaniards " [4] made any peaceable settler's life a hazard and so worked to frustrate the Protector's efforts to procure the colony support in agriculturists immigrating from other English possessions. Therefore, both to secure their immediate safety and also to assure their ultimate preservation, through the year 1656 the English in Jamaica continued to wage war by sea and land upon the Spaniards and their former slaves, enemies whom, when Ysassi went into action,[5] Sedgwicke described as having become " bold and bloody : a people that know not what the laws and customs of civil nations mean," with whom he was unable either to " capitulate or discourse."

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to Don Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Manatines, April 3, 1656.

[2] Cf. Sabada's Journal, *Thurloe*, IV, p. 543.

[3] Sedgwicke to the Protector, Jamaica, November 5, 1655 ; Goodson and Sedgwicke to *Thurloe*, January 24, March 12, 1656 ; Sedgwicke to *id.*, January 24, March 12, in *Thurloe*, IV, pp. 151, 454, 455, 600, 604.

[4] Long, Edward, *History of Jamaica*, B.M. MSS. 12404, p. 258.

[5] The Castilla narrative (*Camden Miscellany*, XIII, 1924) furnishes an outline of the situation of the Spaniards in Jamaica from May, 1655, to July, 1656. For events up to March, 1656, it is the best Spanish source. Ysassi's letters of April and June, 1656 (cited *ibid.*, p. 22, note 2), are colourful pictures of his opening campaign (March–June) which carried him to the very doors of English headquarters, where he showed himself in the light of houses he had set on fire. For English accounts of his first offensive, see Sedgwicke and Goodson to the Protector, Jamaica, March 12 ; Sedgwicke to Thurloe, same date ; *id.* to *id.* April 30, 1656, in *Thurloe*, IV, pp. 600, 604, 748 ; D'oyley's Journal, p. 10, minutes of council of war, March 19, 1656 ; Godfrey to Blackborne, April 30, 1656, *Calendar of State Papers, Addenda*, p. 109, No. 257.

If that general is successful who carries through his design, then in 1656 Don Cristóbal was a successful general, no matter how petty his operations or with what mean forces executed, for during that year he achieved his purpose. He and his king agreed that for the time being his immediate purpose must necessarily be merely to maintain a Spanish force in the island to harass the intruders and to co-operate with any other Spanish force, naval or military, which might be sent in. This much Ysassi accomplished. On the other hand, the English purpose—to pacify the country and to bring its natives into recognition of the English State and Church—was not then attained, though toward it, with his re-formed army, Colonel Edward D'oyley worked with staunch determination.

In Spain, the king in his council for Indies was informed [1] concerning Ysassi by his brother, Licenciate don Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, governor's lieutenant at Santiago de Cuba, who forwarded to the crown letters which Don Cristóbal wrote him from the Jamaican bush. The first [2] of these to reach his majesty breathed so much of loyalty, religious zeal and bellicose energy, that the crown forthwith made [3] Don Cristóbal Ysassi Arnaldo governor of Jamaica, to succeed Don Juan Ramirez, deceased. Don Francisco de Proenza, whose subordinate so superseded him, was disposed of by a subsequent *cédula*,[4] full of verbose thanks and empty promises.

Multitudinous orders [5] were now issued to assemble men, munitions, money and subsistence, from Porto Rico,

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the council for Indies to the crown, October 12, 1656.

[2] Ysassi's of April 3, 1656, which Don Blas forwarded in copy with his of May 22 following, preserved in *A. de I.*, 54–3–29.

[3] His commission (*A. de I.*, 79–4–6, f. 25 reverse, copy) was issued from San Lorenzo on October 12, 1656, and made him governor of Jamaica, to command all reinforcements to be sent, until such time as his majesty might otherwise provide.

[4] *A. de I.*, 79–4–6, f. 54 reverse.

[5] *A. de I.*, 79–4–6, ff. 23, 28, 30 reverse, 32, 37; 41, 42, 42 reverse, 43; 56–66 reverse, inclusive, etc.

Santo Domingo, Cuba and Mexico, these to be concentrated in Santiago de Cuba for transportation thence to Jamaica. War in Europe had so reduced Spain that no other policy seemed possible. The Duke de Alburquerque, active viceroy of Mexico, was charged [1] with the responsibility of recovering Jamaica with what means could thus be rallied in the Indies.[2]

It became increasingly evident that it was important to Spain to recover the island, not because of Jamaica itself, for Spain had not developed the land, but because of its strategical position with respect to other Spanish colonies in and around the Caribbean, and with respect to the trade routes to and from these. In 1656 from Jamaica as a base, Goodson's squadron raided the Main and hung off Cuba, hardly distinguishable among the pirates who seemed thicker than ever off the west end of that island, where they waited in ambush for his catholic majesty's fleets and treasure galleons. The Spanish king's worst fear seemed on the point of realisation, in that the safety of his revenues in transit from the continents of America to Seville was indeed in jeopardy!

Cromwell was supporting his Jamaican enterprise. Sedgwicke brought men. Shortly after Brayne had arrived to succeed Sedgwicke, there came Scottish and Irish troops. Luke Stokes led a considerable body of settlers into the country from Nevis, but these new arrivals died like flies. Sedgwicke himself succumbed.

Brayne, soon to follow him, acted vigorously on the Protector's orders to fortify the harbour and to work the land. The town of Cagway began to grow at the expense of Santiago de la Vega, and at Liguani and at Morant the fertile earth rewarded men who cultivated it, no matter

[1] *A. de I.*, 79–4–6, f. 40, *cédula*, San Lorenzo, October 30, 1656; f. 48, *cédula*, Buen Retiro, June 8, 1657.

[2] "... circumstances do not permit the despatch of a regular fleet, with forces of the regular army, to desembark and operate by land, and so attempt the restoration by regular methods. ..."—The king to the Duke de Alburquerque, *cédula* of October 30, above cited.

how unwillingly. Meanwhile, Goodson's subordinates, patrolling the northern shore, burned huts and canoes which the Spaniards had constructed there, while in the south and south-west D'oyley's army harried from their coverts negroes and mulattoes in whom the English seem not to have recognised the main body of the Spanish resistance.

Undoubtedly it was from Merida [1] that the Duke de Alburquerque had his earliest information concerning events in Jamaica. He was indignant [2] that he had not been directly advised. The viceroy appreciated the magnitude of the menace which the enemy's occupation of that island constituted and in January, 1657, despatched [3] Captain Domingo Rodriguez de Vera to inspect Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, Cuba and Jamaica, and to report to him upon their military strength, *i.e.*, upon their ability to resist further aggression. Captain Rodriguez de Vera arrived in Santiago de Cuba the last of April, 1657, immediately sought communication with the governor of Jamaica (Ysassi), visited the Spanish camp upon the northern coast in early July, and reported [4] to the viceroy from Vera Cruz at the end of that month, giving him not only the details to be expected under his commission but also the welcome news that the first real relief [5] expedition

[1] In August, 1655, with Goodson's consent, Sedgwicke deported 70 Spaniards. The vessel he provided them reached Campeche in early September, and Governor don Francisco de Bazan reported in the matter to the crown (*A. de I.*, 54–3–29, his despatch, Merida, September 29, 1655, with enclosures, among them copy of Sedgwicke's passport to the Acostas, to whom he furnished the ship). Bazan would, surely, have informed the viceroy at about the same time.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Alburquerque to Ysassi, Mexico, March 9, 1657.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Alburquerque to the crown, Mexico, July 20, 1657.

[4] His report has been preserved, in *A. de I.*, 54–3–29.

[5] "Although in the papers which Don Pedro (Zapata) has sent (to Spain) it is set forth that in April of 1656 he attempted to send 600 men, reinforcements to Jamaica, and says that to that end he asked these troops of the presidents of the *Audiencias* of the New Kingdom and of Panama, it does not appear that he carried into effect more than the despatch of a frigate with munitions and stores, which left Cartagena on the 24th of the said month of April. . . ."—The council for Indies to his majesty, Madrid, May 17, 1657, in *A. de I.*, 54–3–29. Other papers in

the Spanish had undertaken had arrived safely at Santa Ana.

The royal order[1] which laid upon the Duke de Alburquerque the responsibility of recovering Jamaica had been delayed in transit but reached him on March 8, 1657. Seven days later there cleared from Vera Cruz four vessels bearing 120 foot in command of Captain don Francisco de Salinas, with biscuit, lead, and 20,000 *pesos*, for Jamaica.[2] These vessels put in at Havana.

By letter the viceroy ordered[3] Don Joseph de Aguirre, military governor there, to send these men and the money by land from Havana to Santiago de Cuba, the viceroy's idea being to avoid encounters with pirates; the munitions and commissary supplies were to go by sea, the usual route. Accordingly,[4] the men set out by land and seem to have arrived as far as Matanzas, whither it became necessary for Aguirre to send vessels to pick them up and carry them on, by water. The money continued overland, under escort. This so delayed Captain Salinas' company that it did not reach Santiago in time to clear for Jamaica with the other troops assembling there. When it did arrive, Governor Bayona Villanueva appropriated[5] what was left of it for his own garrison. The captain himself, however, having preceded his men by a few days, crossed to Jamaica to deliver despatches from the viceroy to Ysassi.

Meanwhile, having duly received a royal *cédula*[6] so ordering, on April 3 Aguirre had despatched to Santiago

the same *legajo* show that this vessel was thrown off its course, either by bad weather or by malice of its owners. Not until December, 1656, did Don Cristóbal receive this relief, at Lobato. It was not considerable.

[1] See note No. 1, p. 122 *ante*.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Alburquerque to the crown, Mexico, July 20, 1657. Captain Salinas' orders, dated March 9, are to be found in the same *legajo*.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Alburquerque to Aguirre, Mexico, March 9, 1657.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Aguirre to the crown, Havana, May 24, 1657; Memorial of charges, Santiago de Cuba, September 8, 1658.

[5] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, July 19, 1657.

[6] *A. de I.*, 79–4–6, f. 32, October 25, 1656.

a company of about 100 men under Captain don Cristóbal Añues.[1] It was later charged that these men were not properly armed.[2] They arrived in Santiago on April 23—the first of the contingents which the crown sought to assemble, to make its appearance at that point of concentration.

At about the same time came Captain don Juan de los Reyes,[3] with less than 30 men from Porto Rico, and Captain don Domingo de Silva,[4] with almost 100 from Santo Domingo. These latter were presently said[5] to be unfit, inexperienced and ill-clad. Of the refugee Jamaicans in Santiago two companies (not quite 200 men) were formed, under Captains don Francisco Cartagena de Leiva and Lucas Borrero Vardesi. On the 3rd or 4th of July, 1657, these reinforcements (over 400 men in all) embarked for Jamaica. They cleared on the night of July 6.

The crown had specified[6] that the governor at Santiago should deliver this relief at whatever port Ysassi might indicate; this, too, was the viceroy's order to Bayona Villanueva. To facilitate operations against English headquarters, which were on that side of the island, Ysassi preferred[7] a port on the southern coast. Further, in that

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29; Aguirre to the crown, Havana, April 2 and June 1, 1657; Añues to the Duke de Alburquerque, Jamaica, July 7, 1657.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to the Duke de Alburquerque, Jamaica, July 9 and 16, 1657.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, De los Reyes to the Duke de Alburquerque, La Managua (Jamaica), July 8, 1657.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, De Silva to the Duke de Alburquerque, Santiago de Cuba, July 8, 1657.

[5] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to the Duke de Alburquerque, Jamaica, July 9 and 16, 1657.

[6] In the *consulta de consejo* of October 12, 1656, it was recommended that Bayona Villanueva be instructed to forward the relief "from Santiago to Jamaica, to Don Cristóbal de Ysassi, by way of the safe port and landing places which Don Cristóbal names in his letter," *i.e.*, of April 3, to Don Blas. Resultant *cédulas* accurately reflected this intention that Ysassi should select the point of debarkation of the expedition; and Bayona Villanueva was clearly told (*cédula*, October 25, 1656) to send it to any port that Ysassi might designate at the time.

[7] Ysassi gives his reasons as early as his letter of April 3, 1656, to Don Blas; he repeats them in his despatches to the viceroy of July 9 and 16, 1657.

same district (St. Elizabeth ? Westmoreland ?) he had, up to this time, possessed hidden retreats, cattle and a faithful following of blacks and mulattoes.

The governor at Santiago was at some pains to inquire of Ysassi at what place he desired the expedition to land ; yet when Ysassi designated a southern port Bayona Villanueva overruled [1] his judgment. Ysassi appeared to acquiesce, and the relief cleared for Santa Ana, a port on the northern coast readily accessible from Santiago. It arrived entirely unperceived by the enemy, early on the morning of July 7, 1657.[2]

The landing of unseasoned men and stores in a northern port greatly handicapped Ysassi, for it necessitated much marching, and, what was even more serious, it necessitated the transportation over long distances and bad trails of all the supplies received. Not all the men sent to Ysassi's support were equal to the hard service expected of them. Not all were suitably clad and shod, armed or equipped. Further, the subsistence landed was in part spoiled—had perhaps been unfit for consumption even before it was embarked for Jamaica.[3] The weather was hot, and sickness ensued.

Ill as all this augured for the outcome of the enterprise, even surer sources of certain failure lay in the petty jealousies existing among the Spanish officials, civil and military alike. At Havana, Don Joseph de Aguirre had merely to obey orders to delay the viceroy's troops, disorganise them, and, indeed, prevent them from reaching Jamaica at all ; meanwhile, he bragged that his own contingent appeared first at Santiago. There Governor don Pedro de Bayona Villanueva had early expressed [4] contempt

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, July 18, 1657.

[2] The troops were landed at Santa Ana *alias* La Maguana. The munitions were landed at Las Chorreras, sometimes called Las Chorreras de Santa Ana. Long identified this—Cheirreras Bay—with Ocho Rios.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, July 21, 1657.

[4] His opinion of Ysassi shows through all his correspondence. That it was not shared by the council for Indies is evident in the *consulta* of March 12, 1658 (*A. de I.*, 54–3–29) and resultant *cédulas*.

for Ysassi, a *criollo* (*creole*), doubtless a good guide but certainly not a trained officer. Bayona Villanueva said[1] that Ysassi considered himself a greater soldier than Julius Cæsar; one might retort that his despatches suggest that Bayona Villanueva thought as much of himself. There can be no doubt that the governor at Santiago envied the opportunity for service, for recompense (conceivably, even for profit) which had unexpectedly opened to Ysassi. Without authority so to do he made[2] the captain from Porto Rico, Don Juan de los Reyes, *sargento mayor* of Ysassi's little army—an important post Ysassi had already filled to his satisfaction with a nephew. Ysassi's refusal[3] to recognise Juan de los Reyes as *sargento mayor* augmented the spirit of insubordination which had never been entirely absent from his camp. In their despicable jealousies the Spanish now waged a disastrous war upon themselves.

Meanwhile, the English (busy in the south in the new town of Cagway and around Morant), although they had known[4] almost as soon as the Spanish in the Indies that his catholic majesty was assembling relief in the Antilles, were as yet unaware that it had reached Jamaica. They had been two months in the island and their strength was dissipated before D'oyley learned[5] that these reinforcements had landed.

With scarce 50 men (blacks and whites), Ysassi had been waging war on D'oyley in the south and south-west, " after

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to Zapata, from Santiago de Cuba, August 11, 1657, embodied in a *testimonio*, September, 1657, accompanying Zapata's to the crown, Cartagena, October 12, 1657.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, July 18, 1657.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, De los Reyes to the Duke de Alburquerque, La Maguana (Jamaica), July 8; Ysassi to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, July 17; Blas Ysassi Arnaldo to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, November 20, 1657, etc., etc.

[4] *Thurloe*, VI, p. 130, deposition Pedro de Salas, March 20, 1657. Cf. Long, f. 90 reverse.

[5] B.M., Egerton 2395, p. 144, D'oyley to Commissioners of the Admiralty (?), " Letter upon the death of Coll. Brayne " (September, 1657).

the usage of the Indies," harassing the intruders as he might, attacking them when he dared, burning their buildings, destroying their plantations, and in St. Catherine, Clarendon, Manchester, St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland preventing them from accomplishing such development as was proceeding in St. Andrew and St. Thomas parishes, where he found himself unable to interfere.[1] But D'oyley, with his reorganised army into which courage had returned, had pressed the Spaniard hard, and lack of consistent support had so diminished Ysassi's strength that now, in the summer of 1657, far from remaining penned within their defences in the town, as he had described [2] them in the spring of 1656, the English were reported [3] to sleep abroad tranquilly, even in the parties pursuing him, their horses picketed—so great was their confidence in Ysassi's inability to disturb.

From the southern coast, where he had just received certain stores (a third small relief) from Cartagena, Ysassi came [4] up to the northern coast to welcome the important expedition from Santiago de Cuba. No sooner had he left Oristan (Bluefields ?) than the enemy made [5] a successful raid there, running off those pack animals upon which Ysassi had counted heavily. This proved to be an irreparable calamity.

Nevertheless, the governor remained determined to take the offensive. After a council of war, about July 11 from Las Chorreras he started the regulars southward for Bermejales (Vera Ma Hallis, in Upper Clarendon) ; they marched under Captains Juan de los Reyes and Domingo

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to the Duke de Alburquerque, Jamaica, July 9, 1657.

[2] In his letter to his brother Blas, written in April, 1656, previously cited.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, July 18, 1657.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, July 17 (?), 1657.

[5] *Ibid.* ; Ysassi to the Duke de Alburquerque, Jamaica, August 29, 1657, etc., etc.

de Silva. Having carefully buried his reserve powder, Ysassi himself followed after them in a few days, presumably with the territorials. What stores could not be carried along on the few horses available were left at Las Chorreras under Captain Pavon with a guard of about 50 men.[1]

The effects of poor selection and equipment, of rotten beef, mosquitoes, heat, and—above all—of jealous dissension, became immediately evident in that, having arrived at Los Bermejales, the troops became mutinous, alleging a shortage in food. They were not discouraged in this attitude by their officers. A council of war was held, after which Ysassi was obliged to permit a very considerable body to turn back to Las Chorreras. They retired under Captain de los Reyes, who superseded Captain Pavon in command there.

His orders,[2] issued to him on August 1, 1657 (presumably the day on which he left Los Bermejales at dawn), bade Captain Reyes remove himself, his men and stores from Las Chorreras to a place not far distant called Baycani, which Ysassi deemed defensible. Although these orders were repeated to him half a dozen times, Reyes determinedly resisted them.[3] It would appear that far from obeying, he permitted [4] his men to busy themselves in building small vessels in which, presumably, all were to return to Santiago, to which city consignments of the sick were despatched along with gloomy and unfair reports upon the situation in Jamaica and especially upon Ysassi's capacity as a leader.[5]

[1] These matters are fully set forth in *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, August 31; and in the papers accumulated in the course of subsequent proceedings against Reyes. See especially his own deposition, made at Santiago de Cuba, November 10, 1657. See also Captain Mendez's.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Blas Ysassi Arnaldo to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, November 16, 1657.

[4] *Ibid.* This charge is stressed in certain papers belonging to the *fiscal* (crown prosecutor) preserved in this same *lagajo*.

[5] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to Zapata, Santiago de Cuba, August 11; to the crown, September 2, 1657.

Meanwhile, from Los Bermejales, Ysassi pressed on, accompanied by what men had the courage to follow him, these being perhaps 170 territorials and the major portion of the company from Havana under its captain, Don Cristóbal de Añues. They routed a small squadron of English and by the end of August would seem to have overrun the Guatibacoa region (general vicinity of Old Harbour) where was to be had an adequate supply of meat. Again, Ysassi was a successful general.[1]

At this juncture Brayne died and Colonel D'oyley succeeded to the chief command of the English by land and sea. Against the Spanish he now despatched a cavalry company (60 or 80 horse) which encountered Ysassi and his forces at a place the Spanish called Santa Ana gully.[2] The English were defeated and lost heavily in men. The victorious Spaniards lost more heavily yet, because, far from putting life into them as, D'oyley says,[3] " this Sudden Surprise rather put life than feare " into the English, it disheartened Ysassi's men, as nothing of the sort could discourage their leader. When, a few days later, the English killed most of a small party he had sent out to discover the town and harbour, his troops began to desert shamelessly.[4] By mid-October Ysassi's following was reduced from say 170, to 60 ; by the end of October it numbered 20.

While Ysassi was so engaged in the south, on the northern coast Captain Juan de los Reyes was occupied in furnishing history[5] with a fine example of what envy

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to the Duke de Alburquerque, Jamaica, August 29, 1657 ; to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, August 31.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, September 13, 1657 ; to the Duke de Alburquerque, same date.

[3] B.M. 2395, p. 144, " Letter upon the death of Coll. Brayne."

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, September 27, 1657. Cf. Captain Mendez' deposition, among the *fiscal's* papers, in the same *legajo*.

[5] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, October 12, 1657, forwarding " shameful papers," i.e., communications between Reyes and Silva and Ysassi, demands of the infantry on Ysassi, etc., etc., showing the mutinous state of the troops and officers, from October 4 forward.

and personal animosity can accomplish toward defeating a cause; and in Santiago de Cuba Governor don Pedro de Bayona Villanueva was ably abetting him in that work. No sooner had he arrived at Las Chorreras than Captain Reyes unearthed the powder Ysassi had hidden. He quarrelled [1] through a month with his immediate superior, Ysassi's lieutenant-governor, Don Francisco Leiva Ysassi, who was in command at Bermejales while the governor was fighting English cavalry further south. Reyes permitted open mutiny in his men, transmitted their communications to Ysassi, perhaps actually encouraged Captain Añues and those regulars who had remained faithful to desert the governor, and certainly received such deserters at Las Chorreras, there facilitating their departure to Cuba, where they were not called to any accounting. However, his dues were upon him.

From a prisoner he had captured D'oyley [2] learned that the Jamaicans had indeed received the reinforcements he knew they expected. Inasmuch as he understood that a large portion of these troops were acclimated territorials, he resolved not to leave them to the "alteration of the Clime," as he would otherwise have done, but, instead, "determined to pursue these with might and main." Before the end of October he had driven Ysassi from Guatibacoa [3] to Los Bermejales where, in the negro stockade,[4] the Spaniard supposed himself safe. And, having acquired still further and fairly accurate intelligence

[1] Their correspondence is preserved in *A. de I.*, 54–3–29.

[2] B.M., Egerton 2395, p. 144, "Letter upon the death of Coll. Brayne."

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Blas Ysassi Arnaldo to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, November 16, 1657.

[4] "I, brother, am making my headquarters in the negro stockade, since it is the strongest situation in all the island, where, with 100 men, though 1,000 attack, I can defend it. In order not to be beaten off by the enemy, I want to make all the king's munitions safe. Then, from there I will set out on the campaign. . . ."—Ysassi to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, July 17 (?), 1657. In other documents this headquarters from which the Spanish operated as a safe base is named: Bermejales (Vera Ma Hallis).

concerning the existence and strength of the Spanish camp on the northern coast, from Cagway D'oyley despatched [1] an expedition by sea, probably commanded by Major-General Stevens, who landed about 300 men in two parties and advanced upon the Spanish camp at Las Chorreras from two directions simultaneously. It is possible that the number of Spanish present there when the English attacked (on November 2, 1657) was less than 300, for many men were absent, engaged, especially at Rio Nuevo, in building small craft in which, as has been said, all were to cross to Cuba.

Those who were present at Chorreras offered no effective resistance to the English landing. Captain don Domingo de Silva was sent forward with a small force which fired a single volley and fell back upon the stockade, a picket enclosure, which was all the defensive work the Spanish had provided for themselves in more than three months' occupation of the position. Panic seized upon the defenders of this enclosure and casualties seem to have been heaviest among those who stampeded in attempting to escape from it. The English took the place, stores, munitions and prisoners, among whom was Campmaster Proenza. He was treated with consideration. The English loss was about 20 killed; the Spanish loss, somewhat heavier.[2]

Upon learning that mutiny had come to a head in early October, Governor Bayona Villanueva cleared [3] a launch

[1] Among English primary sources examined the writer has seen no reference to this expedition, although its results were of enough importance that D'oyley must have reported it. See *Thurloe*, VII, p. 55, Downing to Goodson, The Hague, April 16, 1658.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, November 16; Blas Ysassi Arnaldo to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, November 16; *id.* to *id.*, November 20; Ysassi Arnaldo to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, November 25; Francisco Cartagena de Leiva to Julian de Castilla, Jamaica, November 26; Ysassi Arnaldo to Bayona Villanueva, Jamaica, November 28; Francisco de Leiva Ysassi to Bayona Villanueva, December 17, 1657. Depositions made by Captains Juan de Los Reyes, Domingo de Silva, Chaplain Mathias Velazquez, and others who were present at the rout, have been preserved in the same *legajo*.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, November 16, 1657.

for Jamaica, ostensibly to persuade the infantry to obedience to its officers. This craft arrived shortly after the rout at Las Chorreras and in it Captain Juan de los Reyes made off to Santiago de Cuba, accompanied by Captain de Silva (badly wounded) and by as many other persons as the small vessel could carry. Reyes delegated command to Captain Añues, promising him and what men assembled about him, to send from Santiago to fetch them off at once.

Ysassi (himself defeated in the south) was in no position to render any assistance to his discomfited infantry on the northern coast. As a matter of fact, Ysassi had his first news[1] of the rout from an Englishman whom he took prisoner three weeks after it had occurred.

Instead of rejoining his superior officer at Bermejales, as Ysassi at least affected to desire him to do, Captain Añues also departed for Cuba, where he had arrived before the middle of December, 1657. His men went after him as quickly as they could. Ysassi and his immediate following remained "in the bush," befriended still by the negroes. They seem to have moved into the south again almost immediately.

In Santiago de Cuba his enemies made the most of the governor's unhappy situation.[2] Only the viceroy of Mexico could perceive that Ysassi was making a fight.[3] His majesty was informed that the affairs of Jamaica were in a state of utter confusion—as indeed they were! The first serious attempt to relieve the island had come to worse than naught.

Meantime, the Duke de Alburquerque had at Vera Cruz assembled still more men for Jamaica.[4] Constituting what

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29. Ysassi Arnaldo to Blas Ysassi Arnaldo, Jamaica, November 25, 1657.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, January 19, 1658; *id.* to *id.*, January 27.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the Duke de Alburquerque to the crown, Mexico, March 20, 1658.

[4] *Ibid.*

was known as the Mexican *tercio*, in command of Captain don Alvaro de la Raspuru, they cleared on October 18, 1657, for Havana, where they arrived on November 9, and delayed to careen their transports.

Informed of their approach, Governor Bayona Villanueva from Santiago communicated [1] with Ysassi, bidding him prepare to receive these men and the stores sent with them. Against Ysassi's reiterated opinion that it was most unwise to do so, Bayona Villanueva remained determined to land this expedition also upon the northern shore of Jamaica. This determination, in the shape of the unanimous opinion [2] of a council of war held at Santiago de Cuba on January 20, 1658, was conveyed to Ysassi by his young nephew, Don Cristóbal Ysassi y Proenza, who found Ysassi's lieutenant-general, Don Francisco de Leiva, near Baycani, on the northern coast, and Ysassi himself on the southern coast, at Santa Cruz.

Again overborne by the governor at Santiago, Ysassi agreed [3] to meet this second formidable relief expedition on the northern coast, " between the fort and La Maguana " ; but hardly had he in consultation with his officers so decided, than the English came down upon him at Oristan, by land and sea (February 11, 1658). Among prisoners they captured was Captain don Francisco de Cartagena.[4] Inasmuch as this officer had been present at the council, knew of the relief and where it was to be expected, Ysassi considered it advisable immediately to change the plan, and in a communication addressed to Bayona Villanueva indicated Baycani as the port to which the expedition should come, if come it must, but he made it plain that

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Cristóbal Ysassi y Proenza, deposition, Santiago de Cuba, January 28, 1658.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, minutes of the council of war, Santiago de Cuba, January 20, 1658.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to Bayona Villanueva, Jamaica, February 12, 1658 ; Blas Ysassi Arnaldo to the Duke de Alburquerque, Santiago de Cuba, March 5, 1658.

[4] Thurloe, VI, p. 834, D'oyley to Thurloe, Jamaica, February 28, 1658.

he was not at the moment in any condition to receive more men.

Don Cristóbal de Ysassi y Proenza returned to Santiago with this information, and with about 40 refugees who occupied his vessel and crossed with him in it, despite his more or less nominal opposition. Don Francisco de Leiva was unable to prevent their desertion.[1]

On January 30, 1658, the Mexican *tercio* arrived in Santiago. It consisted of 557 foot, described [2] as negroes, mulattoes and Indians, inexperienced boys, poorly equipped. Their commanding officer was already helpless with the illness which was soon to prove fatal to him, and the *tercio's* too numerous captains seem early to have become insubordinate and mutinous.[3]

Don Pedro de Bayona fomented unrest among them and presently became anxious to be rid of them all. He sent two messengers into Jamaica to find Ysassi and with him to agree definitely upon the expedition's clearance; and on May 15–16, 1658, despite the fact that the enemy was even then off the port of Santiago,[4] the *tercio* set out for its destination in three of the four ships which had brought it from Vera Cruz. They went without escort.

The port of Rio Nuevo had been selected, finally, as the landing-place, and seemingly Ysassi had made some commencement there on shelters to receive the stores, etc. It would appear that the enemy also had been active in the immediate neighbourhood, for the expedition, landing safely on May 18 (despite the risks it had run), found a camp of Ysassi's negro supporters partially destroyed, and

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi y Proenza's deposition, Santiago, January 28, 1658.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to the Duke de Alburquerque, Santiago de Cuba, March 8, 1658, enclosing certificate of a muster held March 6; Ysassi to Gregorio de Leguia, Jamaica, August 16, 1658. Cf. D'oyley to Povey, Cagway, July 12, 1658, in Egerton 2395, B.M. MSS., p. 169.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Alvaro de la Raspuru to the Duke de Alburquerque, Jamaica, May 26, 1658.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to Bayona Villanueva, Rio Nuevo (?), Jamaica, June 21, 1658.

the governor himself nowhere in sight. The advance notice of the expedition's clearance, for which he asked, had not been sent to him.[1]

However, Ysassi appeared. The stores were housed as quickly as possible with as little loss as might be, considering the untoward circumstances, and the persistent rain then falling. Six pieces of artillery were landed from the ships, and the Spaniards proceeded to " fortify " themselves upon a " vast height " in the port of Rio Nuevo. Their strength was now about 650 men.

The very day after their arrival,[2] the expedition's vessels were discovered in Rio Nuevo bay by an enemy scoutship, which seems to have entered and opened fire. It was driven off and summoned other vessels to its support. Again (May 28) the English attempted the Spaniards and were driven off.[3] That night Ysassi compelled his vessels to make away. The English reappeared, apparently still further strengthened, being now five ships, and prepared to land men under cover of their artillery. Once more they were driven off, and disappeared from the neighbourhood.

Word had been sent to Colonel D'oyley. After a council of war had seriously considered the situation, an expedition against Rio Nuevo cleared from Cagway on June 11, D'oyley himself in command.[4]

Arrived at Rio Nuevo, the English effected a landing despite Spanish resistance, and on June 26, 1658, Ysassi

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Memorial of Charges, etc. ; Ysassi Arnaldo to the Duke de Alburquerque, Rio Nuevo, May 28, 1658.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Alvaro de la Raspuru to the Duke de Alburquerque, Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Rio Nuevo, May 26, 1658.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Alvaro de la Raspuru to the Duke de Alburquerque, Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Rio Nuevo, May 29, 1658 ; Ysassi to Bayona Villanueva, June 21, 1658.

[4] D'oyley to ——, from Cagway in Jamaica, July 12, 1658, in *Thurloe*, VI, p. 260 ; Clarke to H. Cromwell, Whitehall, October 5, 1658, *ibid.*, p. 424 ; Fleetwood to *id.*, *ibid.*, p. 423 ; Dalyson to Blackborne, Cagway, July 16, 1658, in *Calendar State Papers*, Addenda, p. 123, No. 304 ; Burough to *id.*, same date, *ibid.*, p. 123, No. 305. Cf. Long, Add. MSS. 12404, p. 273 *et seq.*

was besieged in his camp Real de la Concepción de Rio Nuevo. D'oyley demanded[1] that he surrender, offering "good quarter . . . and transport." The Spaniard refused with spirit. On the 27th the English stormed and took the fort,[2] after a sharp fight.[3] The rout he suffered cost Ysassi about 300 men, killed. The English took the place, the ordnance, munitions and stores, and departed after destroying everything they could not carry off.

Ysassi sought to rally the scattered survivors. At a council held on July 17, 1658, at Rio Cayaus, it was decided[4] to ship back to Santiago de Cuba all but 50 men, with whom Ysassi would continue to obey the crown's command to maintain a foothold in the island until such time as his catholic majesty might provide what was universally demanded as the only means to recuperate Jamaica—the royal fleet, the armada of Spain.

Meanwhile, in his council for Indies and for war in Indies his majesty had news of the rout at Las Chorreras. An armada was being made ready, the Marqués de Villa Rubia commanding, to escort the Mainland and Mexican merchant fleets to their destinations and, especially, to bring back to Spain "the plate," i.e., private and, particularly, government revenues, the outpourings of Peruvian and Mexican silver mines which had accumulated in Cartagena, Nombre de Dios and Vera Cruz, and were there awaiting safe convoy across the Atlantic. These councils

[1] His demand, in translation, dated June 26, 1658, is preserved in *A. de I.*, 54–3–29.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, minutes of council of war held at Cayaus, Jamaica, July 17, 1658; Ysassi to the crown, July 19; *id.* to Gregorio Leguia, same date.

[3] Long, *ibid.*, p. 277, remarked that the fighting upon this occasion was so severe and the victory so creditable, that "this gallant action repaired the honour of the army, which had sustained some injury at St. Domingo." Long states that at the first onset the Spanish taunted the English with their defeat there, "which inflamed the English troops with rage," which must account for the ferocity with which they pursued the vanquished (*ibid.*, p. 276) along the seashore and through the woods. It will be observed that the Spanish loss of life was very heavy.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the minutes of this council.

exerted themselves to persuade his majesty to order this armada to expel the English from Jamaica.

Again they represented [1] the economic and political danger involved in the enemy's presence in that island. In extremity, they appealed to the "ardent zeal" which burned in his majesty's "catholic breast" by reminding him that the heretic's presence also jeopardized the souls of his western subjects and to save these through the holy faith was his prime duty, according to the bull of partition upon which as a foundation his imperial authority in the New World was based. From every quarter, by every person who addressed him in the matter, the king was informed of the importance of the issue—that nothing less than his American empire was at stake!—and all were agreed that the only effective means to recover Jamaica and so remove the peril by ejecting the English, was the royal armada: the Spanish navy.

At the suggestion of the council for Indies, seconded by the council for war in Indies, the Marqués de Villa Rubia and other such naval and military authorities as the Duke de Medinaceli could lay hand upon in Cadiz, were summoned to consultation at Puerto de Santa Maria on March 22, 1658.[2] The problem laid before them was whether, without in the least delaying the armada's immediate clearance, an effort should be made to use it to recover Jamaica, or whether the Spaniards there should be relieved; if so, how? The one point upon which all present at the council agreed, was that the armada should not be delayed in its departure, or delayed in its return, by any considera-

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the council for Indies to the king, Madrid, March 11, 1658; the council for war in Indies to the king, Madrid, March 12, 1658.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the Duke de Medinaceli to the king, Puerto de Santa Maria, March 23, 1658; minutes of the council, held on the 22nd; opinion of Don Manuel de Bañuelos, Cadiz, March 23; opinion of the Marqués de Villa Rubia, Puerto de Santa Maria (Cadiz), March 22; opinion of Don Juan de Urbina, Cadiz, March 24; opinion of Don Pablo Fernandez de Contreras, Puerto de Santa Maria (Cadiz), March 23; opinion of Conde de Villaumbrosa, Sevilla, March 28.

tion for Jamaica. It was obvious that without delay, and some danger, the English could not be dislodged. There were some who considered that, to eject them, there would be necessary such an expedition as Spain was at the moment in no position to undertake. In the end, the armada sailed with its convoyed merchantmen, unembarrassed by any engagement whatsoever with respect to Jamaica.

Surprised at its appearance in American waters, for they had Cromwell's assurance that no armada would clear, the English hurried [1] out from Cagway in hopes to capture a treasure ship, as they were taking what coastwise traffic they encountered. They inspected those great "galleons of the guard" and as hurriedly returned to their port. There, contrary to their enemy's expectations, since news of Cromwell's death had reached the Indies, instead of weakening in their purpose to remain, they began to "dig themselves in" with characteristic determination.

It is not too much to say that the council held at Puerto de Santa Maria on March 22, 1658, decided the future of Jamaica. In American waters the Spanish armada was always formidable. Had it been "embarrassed" with the mission of attacking the English at Cagway in 1658 there can be little doubt that the Spanish would have carried the day.

The wisdom of the policy which, to the dominion of Jamaica, preferred the immediate delivery even of three years' "plate" from Peru plus one year's profit from Mexico must be judged in the light of European, rather than American history. The relative [2] importance of

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, deposition, Juan de Figueredo y Fuertu, Santiago de Cuba, January 18, 1659.

[2] The council for Indies was not reconciled to his majesty's decision not to hamper the armada with "any sort of an engagement with respect to Jamaica." "The council cannot refrain from calling your majesty's royal consideration to the great importance of the island of Jamaica and to the imperative necessity of recovering it, no matter what the effort entailed; for if the English hold Jamaica, in addition to the risk and prime danger which menaces religion (and religion invariably holds first

these alternatives does not appear to the student who confines his consideration to the Jamaican enterprise alone.

Meanwhile, having failed to accomplish the one necessary thing, *i.e.*, to divert the armada to Jamaica, the councils for Indies and for war in Indies busied themselves in a multitude of fruitless activities.[1] Don Pedro de Bayona Villanueva was removed from the governorship of Santiago de Cuba and its district. Don Pedro de Morales succeeded him, with special instructions to co-operate with Ysassi.[2] Captain don Juan de los Reyes was imprisoned [3] in Cadiz. Captain don Juan de Tobar was commissioned *sargento mayor* for Jamaica with attributes of a military governor.[4] Yet he was to recognise Ysassi as his superior! Their equivocal relation to each other and to the new governor at Santiago was pregnant with further trouble. From Spain more troops—100 foot—were sent. Arms and necessary equipment could not be provided in Andalucia. Governors adjacent to Jamaica were instructed to furnish subsistence as they might be able; none responded but

place in the royal, Christian, merciful breast of your majesty), all the neighbouring islands are wholly exposed and endangered, as are also the coastal provinces of Tierra Firme and Mexico, matters which must be regarded not as remote future contingencies which will probably never present themselves, but as imminent menaces, from which prudence must anticipate immediate loss—menaces which augment every day that the enemy's forces strike deeper root in that island while we leisurely let time pass without applying any remedy. This remedy, through God's mercy, is to be the strength of the armada, and therefore the council with the greatest reverence and efficacy possible, entreats your majesty effectively to order that strength exerted between the ending of this year and the beginning of 1659."—The council for Indies to his majesty, Madrid, April 12, 1658, in *A. de I.*, 54–3–29. These pleas were vain.

[1] Resultant *cédulas* will be found in *A. de I.*, 79–4–6, ff. 75 reverse and forward.

[2] Memorandum of the decree removing Bayona Villanueva is preserved in 54–3–29; see also *A. de I.*, 79–4–6, f. 83, *cédula* of April 21, 1658, to Morales.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, very numerous papers in his case; 79–4–6, ff. 102 reverse, 104 reverse, 105, 105 reverse, 106, etc.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the council for war in Indies to his majesty, Madrid, March 12, 1658; the council for Indies to his majesty, of same date; *id.* to *id.*, May 7; 79–4–6, f. 75, *cédula* to Ysassi, advising him.

the Duke de Alburquerque, again charged [1] with bringing the Jamaican muddle to a triumphant issue.

The Mexican fleet's guard of two galleons dropped Governor Morales and *Sargento Mayor* don Juan de Tobar with his company at Santiago de Cuba in July, 1658, precisely as news reached that city of the defeat D'oyley had inflicted upon the Mexican *tercio* at Rio Nuevo in late June. After he had talked with survivors of that disaster, whom Ysassi had shipped back to Cuba in accordance with the resolutions of the council of war held at Cayaus, the new *sargento mayor* reported to Spain that under no circumstances did he consider it advisable for him and his infantry to cross to Jamaica. He informed Ysassi of his appointment and presence, solicited promotion of the crown, and sat down in Santiago to await further orders.[2]

In Jamaica, Ysassi necessarily confined himself to obtaining what intelligence he could of the enemy's intentions. He transmitted [3] alarming news of English designs on the towns of the northern coast of South America, upon Santiago, and of the enemy's projects to establish himself in Florida.[4] He supplied details of the fortifications at Cagway and of the general building going on there. The town was growing.

Meanwhile, in Mexico, the Duke de Alburquerque, encouraged by a pretty picture [5] furnished him of the *tercio's*

[1] *A. de I.*, 79–4–6, f. 75 reverse, *cédula*, April 21, 1658.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Tobar to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, July 25, 1658.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to the crown, Jamaica, August 16, 1658; to Morales, January 11, 1659.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Don Juan de Salamanca to the crown, Havana, November 1, 1658.

[5] This coloured sketch is indeed pretty—done in blues, greens and gold. With so charming a work of art laid before him, the viceroy could foresee only "credit and reputation" for his Mexican *tercio*. The messenger who brought the duke this map left Rio Nuevo at the end of May aboard the three transports which Ysassi forced to clear while the English were off the port, so that here we have a contemporary representation of these three vessels and of the English who attacked and were driven off. Preserved in *A. de I.*, map portfolio (West Indies).

fort at Rio Nuevo, rejoiced [1] in the happy arrival of those troops—rejoicing that was ill-timed indeed, since a month previous D'oyley had so utterly routed them. The duke sent more money, arms and powder [2]; and when he heard of the *tercio's* withdrawal from Jamaica he ordered [3] it, the *sargento mayor*, his company—officers and men—to get themselves back into that island at once. They made haste to recross in the summer of 1659. Regulars, territorials—red, white and black—their return raised the Spanish strength in Jamaica to about 600 men, as that year drew to its end.[4]

The Spanish camp was now established some little distance inland from the north coast. Mismanagement, dissatisfaction and want prevailed, despite the fact that Governor Morales sent subsistence (of a sort) with creditable regularity. The malcontents asserted that nothing was attempted against the enemy from this bush; yet D'oyley presently lamented that his own not enviable condition encouraged the blacks to do him at this time more than usual damage.[5] The English realised [6] that immigration was still discouraged by the fact that they could not make the country safe for agriculturists.

Protests against the futility of their situation and the misery of it, reached the Spanish crown in communications from persons who purported to represent the *tercio's* officers and the territorials.[7] It is probable there was

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the Duke de Alburquerque to the crown, Mexico, July 29, 1658.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the Duke de Alburquerque to the crown, Mexico, July 29, 1658.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Morales to the Duke de Alburquerque, Santiago de Cuba, August 29, 1659; the duke to the crown, Mexico, October 29, 1659.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Morales to the Duke de Alburquerque, Santiago de Cuba, August 29, 1659.

[5] D'oyley to Commissioners of the Admiralty, Jamaica, February 1, 1660, in *Calendar State Papers*, Addenda, p. 133, No. 332.

[6] Dalyson to Blackborne, Port Cagway, Jamaica, January 31, 1660, in *Calendar State Papers*, Addenda, p. 132, No. 331.

[7] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Jamaicans to the crown, from the bush, September 16, 1659 (four signatures only); captains of the Mexican *tercio* to the crown, Jamaica, November 3, 1659.

discord between Ysassi and his "natives," and Tobar and his regulars. The governors at Santiago and Havana continued to insist[1] that no means available in the Indies would suffice to drive the English home. They declared that Ysassi's policy of guerrilla warfare was discreditable to his majesty's arms, as well as useless—if the armada was not to be employed against the enemy (and it was not), then it were better to withdraw from Jamaica altogether.[2] Only the hardy governor of that island, repeating that he had proffered his life to the king, declined to consider retreat.[3] Naked and hungry in the bush, he upheld his immediate following and the negroes, with promises of that king's certain gratitude. In immediate expression of it he wanted money and clothing. In vain, however, the Duke de Alburquerque ordered money to be sent to him; equally in vain did Ysassi ask that some part of the funds the viceroy furnished be expended upon the clothes he had promised the blacks.[4]

February of 1660 found Ysassi, his territorials, *Sargento Mayor* don Juan de Tobar and the regulars, encamped in the immediate vicinity of Las Chorreras. Here, on the 22nd of that month, the governor received alarming intelligence that Englishmen accompanied by negroes of one of the three stockades which the former slaves of the island inhabited, had attacked another of these pallisaded settlements. Investigation confirmed this report. Colonel Tyson and Juan Lubolo, who was Captain or Governor Juan

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Bayona Villanueva to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, November 18, 1658; Morales to Leguia, Santiago de Cuba, March 20, 1659; Salamanca to the crown, Havana, September 30, 1659; etc., etc.

[2] The Spanish considered sounding the English with an offer to pay them to abandon Jamaica. See *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Salamanca to the crown, Havana, March 18, 1659; Leyba Ysassi's deposition, Madrid, July 12, 1659, 10th question.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to the crown, Jamaica, August 16, 1658; *id.* to Morales, Jamaica, January 11, 1659.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Morales to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, November 6, 1659; Ysassi to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, June 2 (August 10), 1660; *id.* to his brother, Santiago de Cuba, January 8, 1661.

Bolas to the English, had destroyed the stockade in question.[1]

About a month previous this negro and his following, discouraged by Ysassi's inability to relieve their direst necessities, had approached the enemy with proffers of peace so unexpected they seemed miraculous.[2] These blacks gave hostages, admitted the English to their own stockade, and betrayed the location of others. In four years D'oyley had been unable to learn where these secret strongholds were. And finally, Lubolo (Bolas) led Colonel Tyson and his men against Ysassi himself in a new camp to which the governor had at once removed on learning of the negroes' defection.

Despite his appreciation of the obvious and imminent danger which this defection constituted, Ysassi's military precautions were inadequate, for in this new camp Tyson and the negroes surprised [3] him on February 26. The Spanish loss was heavy. Don Juan de Tobar was among the killed. The enemy took a supply of casabe which was all the food Ysassi had. The governor and about 175 other persons survived, of whom perhaps 100 were effectives. Some saved their arms and the English did not discover the cached munitions.

After this defeat, Tyson left letters [4] for Ysassi, apparently attached to trees on the scene of the rout, in which he offered the Spaniards quarter and transportation out of the island. Even before he received this proffer Ysassi himself had written [5] to the English, asking terms—so quickly had the desertion of his blacks reduced this man,

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, certificate, council of war held at Las Chorreras, February 22, 1660.

[2] Burough to Blackborne, Port Cagway, February 22, 1660, in *Calendar State Papers*, Addenda, p. 134, No. 334; *id.* to *id.*, Jamaica, April 10, 1660, *ibid.*, p. 134, No. 335. Cf. Long, p. 108 *et seq.*

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Morales to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, May 30, 1660; Ysassi to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, June 6 (August 10), 1660.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Tyson to Ysassi (translation), Las Chorreras, February 27, 1660.

[5] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to D'oyley, Jamaica, March 24, 1660.

with whom, despite Cromwell's urging and their own best efforts, the invaders had not hitherto been able to reach an understanding.

Ysassi reassembled his men and moved eastward, keeping close to the sea.[1] He was within the region where he might hope to continue to receive the relief in subsistence which was now being sent him with considerable regularity from Santiago. He had reason to believe a consignment to be due, and one week to a day after his defeat at Las Chorreras the relief appeared. The vessel coasted the shore on which the Spaniards waited. The English had sent out a small launch, and it pursued the Spanish craft. This paid no attention to the prearranged signals Ysassi now made, which should have brought it immediately to land. Instead, running foolishly, it entered Chorrera port and fell into the hands of the English, waiting there for the very purpose.

Inasmuch as this was the third and last small vessel Governor Morales possessed in which to send subsistence to Jamaica, Ysassi realised that his situation was desperate. Tyson, evidently as well aware of that fact, returned to Cagway. Thither Ysassi's emissary, Captain de la Mora, followed him, requesting an opportunity to capitulate.[2]

In the interim two Englishmen had approached the negroes of Los Bermejales stockade with offers of terms. Evidently these blacks were still loyal to Ysassi, for one at least of these emissaries was killed under circumstances the English considered to constitute treachery.[3] Therefore Captain de la Mora was sent back to Ysassi with a demand for reparation. Ysassi was as unable as he was unwilling[4] to furnish it. Again Captain de la Mora travelled to

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, June 6 (August 10), 1660.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, D'oyley to Ysassi (translation), Cagway, March, 1660.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the council for Indies to his majesty, Madrid, March 13, 1660.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, minutes of council of war held in Jamaica, March 24, 1660.

Cagway, now with a written statement [1] of the terms of capitulation Ysassi desired. Under these, the English would have furnished him and all his following with food and transportation for an honourable withdrawal to Cuba. Presumably D'oyley did not think it necessary, now, to grant any terms at all.

In any event, while negotiations were permitted to drag along or discontinue, Ysassi and his party, unmolested on the northern coast, starved in the bush while they waited in vain for further assistance from Cuba. Though Governor Morales sent vessels to look for them, these returned to report that not a sign of the governor or his following was to be seen in their familiar haunts. Since no relief reached him during two months after his final defeat, in late April Ysassi proceeded to build two canoes and in one of them with all of his men whom these not too commodious craft could carry, on May 3, 1660, he departed [2] from Jamaica where through four long years he had maintained a foothold for Spain, as his catholic majesty had commanded him to do.

Arrived safely in Santiago de Cuba at the end of that month, there Ysassi received the welcome usually accorded those who fail, no matter how creditably. He became involved in recriminations against Governor Morales and his communications were ungraciously dismissed when they reached Spain.

Diplomatic negotiations had effected a cessation of hostilities with England. The colonists of both powers were duly informed of that fact.[3] So, as some of his councillors had foreseen [4] that he might be, his majesty of

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Ysassi to D'oyley, Jamaica, March 24, 1660, and its enclosure.

[2] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, certificate, drawn up in Jamaica, May 3, 1660, setting forth Ysassi's reasons for abandoning the island.

[3] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, the council for Indies to his majesty, Madrid, August 13, 1660 ; *id.* to *id.*, September 6, 1660.

[4] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Conde de Villaumbrosa to the crown, Seville, March 28, 1658.

Spain was relieved of the necessity of pondering further the problem of Jamaica.

It had become an English colony. For many days, now, its settlers had been living on crops raised by their own labour.[1] Appropriately, Colonel D'oyley had been commissioned its first English governor.[2] In April, 1660 (while Ysassi worked on his canoes !), from Cagway the English could write[3]: "God hath blessed our design. . . ."[4]

[1] *A. de I.*, 54–3–29, Morales to the crown, Santiago de Cuba, May 30, 1660.

[2] February 8, 1660.

[3] Dalyson to Blackborne, Cagway, April 11, 1660, in *Calendar State Papers*, p. 135, No. 337.

[4] The author of this Paper has informed the Council that 116 of the most important documents mentioned in note 1 on pp. 117–118 of this volume have been translated by her into English, with an introductory study and explanatory notes. These transcripts have been temporarily deposited in the Library of the Society for the assistance of any Fellows who may wish for further particulars of any incidents mentioned in this Paper. It is to be hoped that this valuable collection of materials for the history of the Spanish Main may by some means or other be made permanently available for the information of English-speaking students of the period by means of publication in a suitable form.

THE PROPOSED ANGLO-FRANCO-AMERICAN TREATY OF 1852 TO GUARANTEE CUBA TO SPAIN

(Alexander Prize Essay)

By Professor A. A. Ettinger, D.Phil. (Oxon.)

Read 12 *June*, 1930

On August 24, 1851, Narciso Lopez, Venezuelan by birth, Colonel in the Spanish Army by merit, Governor of Madrid, Field-Marshal and Senator in the Spanish Cortes, by royal favour, and chief of the filibusters against Cuba by predilection, was captured by Spanish troops in his third attempt to destroy the sovereignty of Spain over that island. Although the President of the United States had solemnly proclaimed the illegality of such expeditions departing from Southern centres as New Orleans, the Government of the United States had taken no measures to prevent such departures and the abiding apathy of the American administration, together with the annexationist tendencies manifest throughout the preceding decade of American history, had rightly aroused Spanish suspicions concerning the true intent of the United States.[1]

Cuba had been of importance in American eyes for many years. To the South, in its quest for new slave states; to the North, desiring national expansion; and to the Union as a national entity, afraid of foreign aggression from Cuba as a base, the island must either remain in Spanish hands or become American. So long as it was Spanish there was grave danger of a sudden transfer to an alien power as France or England. The abolitionist

[1] For the Lopez expeditions, see Caldwell, R. G., *The Lopez Expeditions to Cuba, 1848–51*. Princeton, New Jersey, 1915, *passim*.

activities of England, into which many Americans read an added significance of imperialism, aroused in the South an abiding fear of " Africanization," or the creation of a free negro republic in Cuba. The growth of the expansionist idea in the South had led to a series of utterly illegal, but strongly supported, filibustering movements against the island, fostered by the southern slavocracy and undeniably hailed with approval by the masses, despite official protestations from Washington which generally took the form of presidential proclamations. The most important filibuster was Lopez who, despite two failures in 1848 and 1850, had sought once again to conquer the island in 1851, only to meet his fate at the hands of the enraged Spaniards.

The United States had sought the purchase of Cuba from Spain as recently as 1848, and the fact that the American Government took no steps to punish the filibusters created a strong and somewhat warranted impression in Spain that, despite official expressions of opposition thereto, the Government actually favoured such efforts of armed aggression. It was therefore the Lopez expeditions and conversely, the quiescence of the American authorities more than any other single incident, that led to Spanish requests for aid from England and France. Through her Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senor Pidal, Spain in July, 1850, appealed to Palmerston at the British Foreign Office, for joint European protests to Washington.[1] The latter, aware of conditions in Cuba,[2] replied in September that England had seen " with great satisfaction the failure of the late attack upon Cuba," but gave no assurance of aid.[3] Pidal meanwhile sought a joint guarantee of Cuba to Spain by England and France,[4] which Palmerston

[1] F.O. 72/774. Domestic. Xavier de Isturiz, Spanish Minister to England, to Palmerston. London, July, 1850.

[2] F.O. 72/771. Consular Despatches. Cuba. Reports of Consul Kennedy to Palmerston. Havana, May–August, 1850.

[3] F.O. 72/774. Domestic. Palmerston to Xavier de Isturiz. London, September 17, 1850.

[4] F.O. 72/765. Howden to Palmerston, No. 4. Madrid, August 3, 1850.

likewise rejected because of the oppressed state of the native Cubans and the failure of Spain to enforce her anti-slave-trade treaties.[1] Throughout the later negotiations, this demand of England stood forth as the rock on which recurrent Spanish requests for aid broke and spent themselves in vain. Spain now made a third attempt, this time to secure a treaty whereby England, France and Spain would reciprocally guarantee their West Indian colonies,[2] but Pidal's refusal to accede to reform projects in Cuba brought the usual negation from England. November, 1850, saw a final endeavour by Pidal to secure an Anglo-French manifestation of opposition to American annexation of Cuba, preferably by treaty or a tripartite agreement between the three European powers,[3] but once again Palmerston alluded to the slave-trade treaties and declined to support Spain.[4] Throughout the first half of 1851 Palmerston recurrently advised Spain to alleviate the political condition of the Cubans,[5] but to no avail. The last Lopez expedition now set forth and this led to the issuance of orders by both England and France to their respective naval units in the West Indies to aid the Spanish administration in Cuba in preventing as well as detecting American filibustering expeditions.[6] Palmerston now con-

[1] F.O. 72/764. Palmerston to Howden, No. 26. London, August 22, 1850.

[2] French F.O. Correspondance Politique, Espagne, Vol. 836. General de la Hitte, French Foreign Minister, to M. de Bourgoing, French Minister to Spain, Paris, August 10, 1850.

[3] F.O. 72/744. Domestic. Isturiz to Palmerston. London, November 18, 1850.

[4] F.O. 72/744. Domestic. Palmerston to Isturiz. London, December 26, 1850.

[5] F.O. 72/780. Palmerston to Howden, No. 88. London, May 26, 1851; No. 114, London, June 23, 1851; and No. 121, London, July 18, 1851.

[6] F.O. 72/793. Consular (Cuba). Palmerston to Consul Crawford, No. 15, London, September 15, 1851; French F.O. Corr. Pol., Etats-Unis, Vol. 106. Baroche, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Comte de Sartiges, Minister to the United States. Paris, September 11, 1851. Enclosing Baroche to the Minister of Marine. Paris, September 11, 1851.

tinued his sage advice to Miraflores, Pidal's successor at the Spanish Foreign Office, who received it with ill grace. Largely as the result of a despairing letter from Calderon de la Barca, Spanish Minister at Washington,[1] Miraflores determined to appeal directly to the royal houses of Europe for aid in preserving Cuba against the democratic despoilers of the West. On September 16, 1851, he sent forth a circular " in defence of justice and the law of nations," requesting the concerted aid of Europe, whose crowned heads he warned of the dangers imminent from the United States.[2] But the threat fell on idle ears, the voices of the nations of Europe remained silent,[3] and Palmerston, weary of repeated entreaties, definitely stated that if Spain forced a war with the United States,

" they will themselves be the cause of the loss of Cuba, and however much Her Majesty's Government may regret that result, yet it will be impossible for Great Britain to support Spain in a quarrel thus unnecessarily brought on by Spain herself." [4]

For the fifth time Palmerston had refused to support Spain.

In August, 1851, the American Minister to Spain, Daniel M. Barringer, wrote to Webster that Spanish opinion feared neither England nor France in relation to Cuba, but only the United States.[5] A month later he reported that " the tone of the public press here is encouraged and strengthened by that of England and France " [6] and he stressed the Anglo-French support of Spain in connection

[1] F.O. 72/786. Howden to Palmerston, No. 234. Secret and Confidential. Madrid, September 15, 1851.

[2] F.O. 72/797. Domestic. Isturiz to Palmerston, London, September 29, 1851.

[3] Becker, Jerónimo, *História de las Relaciones Exterióres de Espana durante el Siglo XIX*. Two vols., Madrid, 1924. Vol. II, pp. 231–2.

[4] F.O. 72/781. Palmerston to Howden, No. 216, London, November 21, 1851.

[5] U.S. State Department Archives. Despatches, Spain, Vol. 36. Barringer to Webster, No. 55, Madrid, August 4, 1851.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. 37. Barringer to Webster, No. 58, Madrid, September 18, 1851.

with the riots about the Spanish consulate in New Orleans, attendant upon the summary execution of certain Americans in the second Lopez expedition,[1] a support which gave Spain immeasurable confidence as to Cuba.[2]

At the same time Sir Henry Bulwer in the United States reported to Palmerston a project by a Havana citizen of position for a British guarantee of Cuba by an Anglo-Spanish treaty, which would provide some measure of autonomy for the Cubans, a strict enforcement of the slave-trade treaties, and the gradual abolition of slavery.[3] In his instructions to Bulwer of this period, Palmerston never referred to this plan,[4] but the suggestion fell on good ground and bore fruit. At the end of August Palmerston proposed to Comte Walewski, the French Minister to London, a tripartite treaty of renunciation between England, France, and the United States, which the latter thought would be received in the States with derision.[5] Lord Howden, in approving the invitation to France to join the guarantee, suggested adding " some sort of representative body in the island to control its revenues." [6] On September 10 the Marquis de Valdegamas, the Spanish Minister in Paris, was informed by Baroche that Palmerston was intent upon the tripartite plan to which France had also acceded.[7]

The news was promptly given to the American Minister in France, while in England Minister Abbott Lawrence heard many " rumours " of it. In France Louis Napoleon,

[1] U.S. State Department Archives. Despatches, Spain, Vol. 37. Barringer to Webster, No. 59, Madrid, September 22, 1851.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 62, Madrid, October 14, 1851.

[3] F.O. 5/529. Bulwer to Palmerston, No. 137, New York, August 5, 1851.

[4] F.O. 5/526. Palmerston to Bulwer and Crampton. June to December, 1851.

[5] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 683. Walewski to Baroche, London, August 29, 1851.

[6] F.O. 72/787. Howden to Palmerston. Private, Madrid, September 20, 1851.

[7] Becker, Jerónimo. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 233–4.

as a result of the Lopez expedition, proposed " some joint agreement " to Rives, who was to continue the subject with Baroche. This he did in a conference on October 1 when he learned that the idea was English in origin. Rives immediately told the French Foreign Minister that a definite " guarantee of the permanent sovereignty of Spain over the Island of Cuba " would arouse " insuperable objections " in the United States, for while America

" had no illegitimate aims on the Island of Cuba, it could never join in, or be indifferent, even, to any interference of third powers to prevent the people of the Island from asserting their own Independence, if, in the course of future events, they should desire and endeavour to effect it."

Baroche in reply

" declared in the most explicit terms that, on that point, there was a perfect accord between the views of the French Government and that of the United States—that France would never consent to guarantee the Island of Cuba to Spain against interior insurrection or any genuine and spontaneous movements of the people of the Island to effect their Independence,—that the suggestion which had been made did not contemplate, indeed, a formal *guarantee* to Spain of any kind, but simply a common declaration by the Governments of the United States, France and England, in the interest of the general tranquillity of the world and to allay the jealousies and apprehensions which had been excited by recent events, that neither of the three powers would seek to get possession of the Island."

He concluded by showing how past events made it salutary for such action to be taken, especially by the United States.[1] Abbott Lawrence in London, on the other hand, was told nothing of the plan and it was already November before he could write that he had " good reason to believe such a plan to be under discussion." [2]

[1] U.S. State Department Archives. Despatches, France, Vol. 33. Rives to Webster, No. 105, Paris, October 2, 1851 ; see also French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 106. Baroche to Sartiges, Paris, October 2, 1851.

[2] U.S. State Department Archives. Despatches, Great Britain, Vol. 62. Abbott Lawrence to Webster, No. 139. London, November 7, 1851.

While Palmerston was thus toying with this new project, in which he thought it quite possible the United States would join,[1] Spain, largely as a result of the New Orleans episode, asked England and France to enter into an engagement to assure Cuba to Spain. They had previously been asked merely to respect Spanish rights, themselves; now they were asked to agree to see that other nations, such as the United States, would respect Spain's dominion over Cuba. Miraflores realised that the Washington Cabinet would never make such a declaration, but he felt justified in hoping that England, France and Spain, all of whom possessed colonies in the Antilles, might so declare.[2] Palmerston's attitude to this proposal was never manifested, for with December came three important events which did much to change the course of history.

On December 2, 1851, Louis Napoleon, Prince President of the Second Republic of France, subverted that republican creation of Lamartine. Elected head of the State in December, 1848, for a period of but four years,[3] Louis Napoleon had waited until the dawn of his last year of office before he made his *coup d'état* which elevated him to the throne of the Second Empire. In view of the later relations of France and Spain it is of interest to note that he was materially aided and somewhat guided by Narvaez, the ex-Premier of Spain, at the time exiled to France.[4] The Marquis de Turgot, his new Minister for Foreign Affairs, was certainly as favourable to Spain as Baroche had been, and with his subsequent marriage to Mlle. Eugénie de Montijo, sister-in-law of the Spanish Duke of Alba, Louis Napoleon not only created a despotic empire,

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Espagne, Vol. 839. Baroche to Aupick, Paris, November 10, 1851. Baroche disagreed with Palmerston. *Ibid.*, Angleterre, Vol. 684. Baroche to Walewski. Paris, October 7, 1851.

[2] *Ibid.*, Espagne, Vol. 839. Aupick to Baroche, Madrid, November 25, 1851.

[3] Simpson, F.A., *Louis Napoleon and the Recovery of France, 1848–1856.* London, 1923, p. 13.

[4] F.O. 72/789. Howden to Granville, No. 342. Madrid, December 24, 1851.

but materially strengthened Franco-Spanish relations at the ultimate expense of England and the United States.[1] On the same day that Louis Napoleon was accomplishing his *coup d'état*, President Millard Fillmore was presenting, in his Second Annual Message to Congress, his views on the state of the nation. While deploring the Anglo-French naval orders and reiterating the traditional American opposition to the right of search, he clearly manifested to the world at large that the Federal Government was resolved, as in the case of Lopez, that the neutrality laws " must be executed." Despite " the melancholy result of this illegal and ill-fated expedition," Fillmore avowed that,

" if we desire to maintain our respectability among the nations of the earth, it behooves us to enforce steadily and sternly the neutrality acts passed by Congress and to follow as far as may be the violation of those acts with condign punishment. . . . No individuals have a right to hazard the peace of the country or to violate its laws upon vague notions of altering or reforming governments in other states." [2]

To some, Fillmore's sentiments may not have seemed consonant with the actions of his administration, but his moderation as to Cuba and his attitude on the New Orleans riots made a marked impression upon France.[3] In less than three weeks after these two important events there occurred a surprising upheaval at the British Foreign Office. This was the dismissal of Lord Palmerston, whose policy, in the words of Dr. Hearnshaw, " had powerful

[1] Simpson, F. A., *op. cit.*, Chapters V and VI, *passim*; Ward, A. W., and Gooch, G. P., *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*. Three vols., New York, 1922–3. Vol. II, pp. 333–4.

[2] Richardson, J. D., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Ten vols., Washington, 1896–9. Vol. V, pp. 113–18.

[3] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 106. Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, December 18, 1851; *ibid.*, December 31, 1851. How earnestly the Whig Administration strove to placate Europe is also shown by the fact that Webster read to the British Minister, Crampton, his proposed despatches to Barringer in Spain concerning Cuba, the New Orleans affair, and Spanish-American relations. F.O. 5/531. Crampton to Palmerston, No. 58. Washington, December 1, 1851.

opponents in this country as well as vehement detractors abroad," and whose " extreme . . . independence and insubordination " in conducting the affairs of his department " necessitated, and more than justified, his dismissal " on December 19, 1851. " Four events, in particular, belonging to the years 1850–1 filled full the cup of Palmerston's offending." What and why these were is not now of great moment, but it is interesting to note that the last two (and presumably the most important) were his tactless disregard of Anglo-Austrian and Anglo-Russian relations in his handling of Kossuth's career in England, and his " still more flagrant indiscretion " in expressing " without any warrant outside his own conscience, approval of the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. . . ." [1] Refusing either to resign or accept promotion, Palmerston was superseded by Earl Granville, who " had served his apprenticeship in foreign affairs under Palmerston himself (1837–41) " and, unlike his mentor, was decidedly *persona grata* with the Court.[2]

On January 1, 1852, the situation then was in this wise : Spain's recurrent requests for Anglo-French support in obtaining alien renunciation of intentions upon Cuba had seemingly met at last with success. Palmerston and Baroche had carefully considered the chances of American participation and, despite Webster's denial of any satisfaction on the question to Sartiges in November,[3] had virtually decided upon the attempt. Now Palmerston was out and Anglo-French relations were strained because of Louis Napoleon's usurpation of the French throne ; the United States was as cold as ever to inter-

[1] The other two were the Don Pacifico affair with Greece, and the Haynau incident, affecting Austria.

[2] Ward, A. W., and Gooch, G. P., *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. II, Chapter VII. *The European Revolution and After, 1848–54.* F. J. C. Hearnshaw. Part III, " The Fall of Palmerston and After, *1850–52*," pp. 325–37, *passim.*

[3] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 106. Sartiges to Baroche, Washington, November 3, 1851.

national engagements; Spain had not reformed one jot or tittle in her administration of Cuba, and the reports of the Havana Slave-Trade Commissioners indicated a marked increase in the trade [1]; and Louis Napoleon was far too busy with establishing his throne and his lineage to pay much attention to the abnegatory requests of other nations.

But one man saw the possible advantage in the proposals made to date and he, viewing the matter in a larger light, saw the relationship to this question of the United States. This was Comte Walewski, French Minister to England and a son of Napoleon I,[2] whose activities in promoting this made him the dominant figure in the Tripartite Convention movement. To begin with, Turgot, the French Emperor's new Minister for Foreign Affairs, was hostile to any such plan, while Granville, Palmerston's protégé and now his successor, was extremely apathetic. Fortunately for Walewski, there came to Granville, ere the new year was fully two weeks old, another appeal from Spain, through Howden, that, "through the friendly interest and influence of England, an abnegatory declaration on the part of France and the United States, and England, of course, might be made with regard to Cuba." [3] This carried weight with Granville, who was further impressed by Howden's later despatch that Spain, having heard a report that England had changed its pro-Spanish policy as to Cuba, was amenable to alien influences, and, if these reports were true, French aid to Spain would become paramount and the Anglo-French balance of power in Madrid would be broken.[4] This convinced Granville, and

[1] F.O. 84/832. Havana, *passim.*

[2] Ward, A. W., and Gooch, G. P., *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. II, p. 333.

[3] Spain attempted to justify this plea by the argument, very weak in the light of her past activities, that by such action, Cuban officials could use their vessels, supplies, etc., to stop slave-traders instead of using them against piratical attempts on Cuba. F.O. 72/803. Howden to Granville, No. 8. Madrid, January 9, 1852.

[4] *Ibid.*, Howden to Granville, No. 40. Madrid, January 28, 1852.

he laboured steadily toward an accord with Walewski, whom he now informed of his intention to ascertain Turgot's attitude through the British Embassy at Paris. Walewski, realizing that knowledge of Turgot's adamant hostility would dampen Granville's ardour, immediately volunteered to obtain the information himself.[1] The most Turgot would concede was permission for further discussions with Granville.[2] Walewski had striven earnestly to convert his chief, using as his strongest argument the fact that England and France could now cite against the United States the very declaration which the latter had made against European powers in Cuba. Either America would have to accept this convention or, in rejecting it, would reveal her own intentions.[3] After Turgot's refusal, Walewski sent him another masterly brief. Turgot saw no value in such a declaration without the adherence thereto of the United States, which he was convinced would not be forthcoming.[4] Walewski saw that the defection of the British naval forces and the probability of an American rejection of the convention had discouraged Turgot. In a remarkable analysis, Walewski now portrayed the tripartite convention as a substitute for the naval pact, and reiterated the major point that a refusal by the United States would merely expose its position, and that the only possible objection to this was that it might hurt the United States, but that would hardly prove a calamity.[5] Turgot was obdurate, but Spain now took a hand in affairs and changed his mind for him. Walewski had kept the Spanish Foreign Office informed of his project,[6] and on February 3, the

[1] F.O. 27/924. Granville to Cowley, No. 19. London, February 26, 1852.

[2] *Ibid.*; also French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 684. Turgot to Walewski, Paris, January 22, 1852.

[3] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 684. Walewski to Turgot, London, January 20, 1852.

[4] *Ibid.*, Turgot to Walewski, Paris, January 29, 1852.

[5] *Ibid.*, Walewski to Turgot, London, January 29, 1852.

[6] Becker, Jerónimo. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 234.

Marquis de Valdegamas, Spanish Minister to France, appealed over Turgot's head to Louis Napoleon for French adherence to the Tripartite Treaty. Louis Napoleon approved and Turgot capitulated.[1] In bitter tones, Turgot, as Becker puts it, " did not disguise his disgust : ' You compel us, Marquis, to do a thing which is indeed dangerous for France.' " [2] But if Turgot was in sackcloth and ashes, Spain rejoiced.[3] Here was victory at last. Pidal had failed ; Miraflores had failed ; now a foreigner, son of the Bonaparte and French Minister to England, had succeeded in gaining for Spain that protective aid which she so long had coveted.

The Tripartite Treaty, however, was not yet free from encumbrances. With the acceptance of France, Walewski and Granville had set to work again on the embodiment of the document. Two modes of procedure now were suggested. The first, that of England and France agreeing in the first instance to a *dual* convention, and merely inviting the United States to add its signature, proved unsatisfactory, as, in Granville's words, " at first blush it appeared to be less civil to the United States, and to partake more of the nature of a guarantee as regarded ourselves." To this Walewski agreed but noted that if the United States failed to sign it, the *dual* agreement would become " a mere formal document " especially if the American refusal were " couched . . . in an offensive manner." Walewski, in short, wished it to be a treaty *if* the United States signed it ; if not, then a mere scrap of paper. Granville now proposed the presentation of the project to the Washington administration by identical

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Turgot to Walewski, Paris, February 3, 1852. (A strange place to find this despatch) ; Espagne, Vol. 839. Turgot to Aupick. Paris, February 10, 1852. For confirmation by a Spaniard, see Becker, Jerónimo, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 234–5.

[2] Becker, Jerónimo, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 235, citing a despatch of Valdegamas to the Spanish Foreign Office of February 4, 1852.

[3] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Espagne, Vol. 839. Aupick to Turgot, Madrid, February 17, 1852 ; *ibid.*, Vol. 840, Aupick to Turgot, Madrid, March 2, 1852.

notes, "which should be approved respectively by each Power and which should agree in substance, but not in words," that all three Powers should respect Spanish suzerainty in Cuba. On February 12, Lord Normanby reported a statement by Turgot which conveyed the impression that the latter had acceded to the proposals out of sheer regard for England. Granville at once informed Walewski that he did not wish to press France into doing this, but the latter, aware of the true state of affairs, that Valdegamas had forced Turgot's hand, begged Granville to ignore the French Foreign Minister's remarks as he had sent new instructions for full negotiations.[1] On February 18 Granville and Walewski were working together in perfect harmony over the completion of the text of the treaty.[2] On February 19, Turgot, bitter at his diplomatic defeat by Valdegamas, endeavoured to turn it off on Walewski by accusing him of spreading false rumours in London to the effect that he had opposed the project, when Walewski knew that he had constantly favoured it.[3] On February 20, Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, succeeded in overthrowing the Ministry of his former chief, Lord John Russell, and the change of party swept in Lord Derby's Conservative Government.[4] On February 26 Granville in a lengthy epistle to Lord Cowley, recapitulated the efforts of Walewski and himself in behalf of the pact.[5] The next day he, as Palmerston before him, was out, and Lord Malmesbury presided over the Foreign Office. Well might Walewski tremble for his pact. What position would Malmesbury assume?

Fortunately for Walewski, Malmesbury, who knew

[1] F.O. 27/924. Granville to Cowley, No. 19. London, February 26, 1852.

[2] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 685. Walewski to Turgot, London, February 18, 1852.

[3] *Ibid.*, Turgot to Walewski, Paris, February 19, 1852.

[4] Ward, A. W., and Gooch, G. P., *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. II, p. 338.

[5] F.O. 27/924. Granville to Cowley, No. 19. London, February 26, 1852.

nothing of the previous steps in the affair, accepted his views *in toto*, and, believing the pact to be most useful and desirable, continued negotiations from the point where Granville had left them.[1] On March 6, the note to Crampton was completed. Malmesbury asked whether the American Ministers to London and Paris knew aught of this, and Walewski, replying in the negative, thought it bad to let out a secret. To this Malmesbury agreed, adding gratuitously that, if Abbott Lawrence, the American Minister to England, should refer to the pact in an interview which he was to have the next day with Malmesbury, the latter would evade a reply.[2] The safety of the project now seemed assured when in March, the Spanish Minister to France, the Marquis de Valdegamas, again reported strong rumours of anti-Cuban expeditions from the United States and sought the usual aid. There was but one thing for Turgot to do, and he did it. He at once asked the French Minister of Marine to renew the old naval orders.[3] Minister Duclos was willing to do so provided the rumours were true, but his enthusiasm for aiding Spain had fallen in direct ratio to the state of his budget. He therefore informed Turgot that the budget had reduced the Antilles fleet, and that this kind of surveillance cost money.

> " The intervention of France in favour of the Spanish Government, in the manner which you indicate to me, will be unable to gain the effective or serious result without the aid of some new armaments which I intend, in any case, to limit to a frigate or steam vessel, and one or two boats of the second class. Before taking part in the movement, financial prudence commands in me to ask you again to what point the danger, by which Cuba seems menaced, seems to you serious and pressing."

Duclos therefore passed the responsibility for a decision back to Turgot, on whom there now seemed to fall all the

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 685. Walewski to Turgot, London, March 2, 1852; *ibid.*, March 5, 1852.

[2] *Ibid.*, Walewski to Turgot, London, March 6, 1852.

[3] *Ibid.*, Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Turgot to M. Théodore Duclos, Minister of Marine, Paris, March 19, 1852.

odium for his previous attitude.[1] Turgot replied, after a lapse of five days, that the danger was real.

"I am persuaded that serious projects impend, of great import if their authors once doubted the firm intent of the Powers, allied to Spain, to oppose with all available power an attack against the rights of Her Catholic Majesty."

Under the existing tranquil conditions, it was, therefore, sufficient to send but one French ship to Havana to enforce the revived instructions of September 12, 1851. "But if, despite appearances and against our wish, this activity goes on, and intervention becomes more necessary, I hold myself ready to plan with you as to what new measures it will be convenient to adopt." In conclusion Turgot noted the economic relations of France and Cuba and stressed the fact that "the interests of France engaged in this question, are very great."[2] Duclos surrendered, and on March 31 Turgot could inform Sartiges in Washington that new orders had been sent to their West Indian fleets by both France and England.[3] Fortunately, there was no need, this time, for anxiety, and the fleets never were required to stop an expedition of filibusters.

The tripartite proposals had now taken form and awaited presentation. On April 1, 1852, Turgot officially sent his instructions and a copy of the convention to Sartiges.[4] The latter was not unaware of the project. Baroche had told him of it early in October, 1851,[5] and he had, in turn, submitted two reports on America's probable relation to the future of Cuba.[6] Turgot, too, in his aversion to the

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Duclos to Turgot, Paris, March 20, 1852.

[2] *Ibid.*, Turgot to Duclos, Paris, March 26, 1852.

[3] *Ibid.*, Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, March 31, 1852; for England, see F.O. 27/925. Malmesbury to Cowley, No. 62. London, April 12, 1852. Sending the orders of April 10, 1852, to Seymour; *ibid.*, No. 63. London, April 12, 1852.

[4] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, April 1, 1852.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 106. Baroche to Sartiges, Paris, October 2, 1851.

[6] *Ibid.*, Sartiges to Baroche, Washington, October 6, 1851; *ibid.*, October 20, 1851.

project, had asked him to ascertain whether or not the United States was likely to accept the plan.[1] The concensus of opinion seemed to be that America would reject it: Sartiges thought so; Cowley thought so [2]; and Miraflores in Madrid was under no delusions on the subject.[3] On February 26, Turgot advised Sartiges that a note for presentation to Secretary Webster would shortly be sent to him.[4] On March 21, Sartiges proposed that, if this plan should miscarry, the abnegation of America toward Cuba might be purchased by the grant of commercial privileges such as tariff modifications at Havana.[5] But the tripartite movement could no longer be checked. On April 1 the French note went to Sartiges, followed on the eighth by Malmesbury's identical instructions to Crampton,[6] and advisory instructions to Calderon de la Barca from the highly sceptical Miraflores.[7]

The despatches were exchanged between the British and French Foreign Offices,[8] and, at a later date, copies were handed to Isturiz in London,[9] and to Miraflores in Madrid, who enthusiastically replied that Spain appreciated "at its just value this remarkable proof of the sincere desire" of England for Spanish welfare.[10] Crampton was

[1] See F.O. 27/929. Cowley to Granville, No. 7. Paris, February 21, 1852.

[2] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 684. Walewski to Turgot, London, February 27, 1852.

[3] Becker, Jerónimo, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 236.

[4] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, February 26, 1852.

[5] *Ibid.*, Sartiges to Turgot, Washington, March 21, 1852.

[6] F.O. 5/542. Malmesbury to Crampton, No. 34, London, April 8, 1852; No. 35, London, April 8, 1852; No. 36, London, April 8, 1852.

[7] Becker, Jerónimo, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 236–7.

[8] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, April 1, 1852. Angleterre, Vol. 685. Walewski to Turgot, London, March 22, 1852. A copy of Malmesbury's instructions to Crampton, translated into French, can be found in French F.O. Memoires et Documents. Angleterre, Vol. 127. Document 44.

[9] F.O. 72/814. Domestic. Isturiz to Malmesbury, London, April 26, 1852; *ibid.*, April 29, 1852.

[10] F.O. 72/804. Howden to Malmesbury, No. 112. Madrid, May 6, 1852. Enclosing Miraflores' acknowledgment of April 30, 1852.

instructed to propose "that an effort . . . be made in concert with the Government of the United States" to preclude all future hazard of collision as to Cuba, and to submit to Webster the projected convention which provided not only for self-abnegation, but also for binding the signatory states "to discountenance all attempts to that effect on the part of any Power or individuals whatsoever." [1] England's position, in short, was that she "cannot see with indifference the Island of Cuba fall into the dominion of a Maritime Power other than Spain." [2] At the same time, should the United States reject the proposals, Crampton was to obtain, if possible, "a formal repetition, in writing, of their disinclination to see Cuba fall into the possession of any other power than Spain, and of their own intention, not to take possession of it for themselves." [3] He was now informed that Sartiges would also present a note, "and you will therefore concert with" him as to the time of presentation, so that it may be simultaneous.[4] Sartiges, on the other hand, was merely ordered to submit an identical note with Crampton,[5] and two weeks later Turgot had "nothing to add to the instructions concerning Cuba." [6]

The scene of action now shifted to Washington. Having sought an interview on April 22,[7] Sartiges and Crampton met Webster the next day to present their notes. Crampton read his first and Sartiges merely declared he had an identical one to present. According to Crampton's meagre report of the proceedings, Webster took the documents and

[1] F.O. 5/542. Malmesbury to Crampton, No. 34. London, April 8, 1852.

[2] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 685. Walewski to Turgot, London, March 22, 1852. Walewski laid much emphasis on the clear enunciation of this expression of British policy. *Ibid.*, Walewski to Turgot, London, March 27, 1852.

[3] F.O. 5/542. Malmesbury to Crampton, No. 35. London, April 8, 1852.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 36. London, April 8, 1852.

[5] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, April 1, 1852.

[6] *Ibid.*, Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, April 15, 1852.

[7] *Ibid.*, Sartiges to Turgot, Washington, April 25, 1852.

replied that he would soon send them the American decision in writing. " He assured us, however, that we could not *state too strongly* to our respective governments his own entire concurrence in their views with regard to Cuba." [1] Sartiges has been more explicit. According to him, Webster, after expressing the above sentiments, confidentially spoke thus :

" You cannot too strongly assure your Governments of the entire agreement of views of the present Government of the United States on that subject with those of the Governments of France and England. As long as Mr. Fillmore is President of the United States and I am at the head of the State Department, nothing will happen which the French and English Governments could fear."

But, as he went on to show,

" we are on the eve of a Presidential election, and every attempt to resurrect a question which will certainly meet much opposition in the country, presents, at such a time, particular difficulties. . . . The people of the South, I need hardly tell you, are in favour of the acquisition of Cuba, in demanding that an effort be made for acquisition by legitimate means, that is to say, by way of purchase ; and my predecessor in this department, Mr. Buchanan, as you no doubt know, charged our Minister to Madrid, Mr. Sanders, to propose to the Spanish Government that they cede us Cuba for the sum of $100,000,000. You also know what was the actual situation of Mr. Buchanan toward the people of the United States. [Mr. Webster here made allusion to the candidacy for the presidency of Mr. Buchanan as a Democrat.] That question will soon be solved, for already some members of Congress have asked me to have communicated to them the diplomatic documents relative to Cuban affairs and our position towards Spain. The publicity given to the project begun by Mr. Buchanan will have been of such a nature as to serve his interests in the Northern States, and consequently the action of the present administration in this matter will be

[1] F.O. 5/545. Crampton to Malmesbury, No. 50. Washington, April 25, 1852. For the documents, see U.S. State Department Archives. Notes *to* the State Department. England, Vol. 29, Crampton to Webster, Washington, April 23, 1852 ; France, Vol. 15, Sartiges to Webster, Washington, April 23, 1852.

more free. There is in our people, I need not tell you, a sort of vulgar reluctance to make conventions with crowned heads unless absolutely necessary, and the general principle of the foreign policy of this country has been never to form entangling alliances."

Crampton and Sartiges called Webster's attention to the purely negative side of the agreement, but he merely repeated his earlier views, adding that if the United States refrained, there was no reason why England and France could not make a dual agreement between themselves. The ministers now asked permission to send confidential reports to their respective governments to which, after much hesitation, Webster agreed. After he had promised to send them a written reply to their proposals, Crampton and Sartiges retired with the pessimistic outlook that, as Sartiges put it,

" we dare not hope that Mr. Webster's reply will be as explicit as our conversation. At this time this is not as important as the internal politics of the United States, to which foreign affairs are always subordinate. . . . In short, we cannot tell when the negotiations will end, but the opening has been made." [1]

The opening, indeed, had been made, but Webster, in his reply, while not closing the door, manifested no intention of entering. In his reply of April 29, Webster accepted as correct Malmesbury's narrative of " the course of policy which has influenced the Government of the United States heretofore in regard to the Island of Cuba," a policy which Fillmore " entirely approves." The president, Webster continued, would consider Crampton's note (and, of course, Sartiges' as well), but he reminded the British Minister that American policy

" has uniformly been to avoid as far as possible alliances or agreements with other States, and to keep itself free from national obligations except such as affect directly the interests of the United States themselves. This sentiment has been strongly

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Sartiges to Turgot, Washington, April 25, 1852.

felt and uniformly entertained in the councils of this Government from its earliest history."

The United States, in short, was keeping its hands off of Cuba, but it was resolved that Spain should not cede it to any other *European* nation.[1] An identical reply was sent to Sartiges.[2]

This reply confirmed the worst fears of Crampton and Sartiges. The former, in reporting it to Malmesbury, accused Webster of evasion, for the American Secretary of State had cleverly phrased it, "cession to another *European* power," thus leaving open the door to American annexation.[3] Sartiges, also, had noted this, but understood the American motive far better than Crampton. He now proposed to Turgot that, as an inducement to signing the convention, Spain should grant Cuban customs remissions to signatory nations,[4] but Turgot seemed satisfied with Webster's reply and the matter was dropped in France,[5] only to be taken up directly with President Fillmore. Webster had gone to Boston and Crampton and Sartiges, not knowing when he would return, determined to sound Fillmore on the tariff modification scheme. Sartiges has reported the president's views most accurately: Fillmore said that

"he was perfectly in accord with us as to our views on Cuba, and that he found the proposal of the French and British governments frank, honourable and made in the same liberal spirit which had dictated the instructions to French and British agents sent to the Plata,[6] but that we knew the country too well

[1] U.S. State Department Archives. Notes *from* the Department, England, Vol. 7. Webster to Crampton, Washington, April 29, 1852.

[2] *Ibid.*, France, Vol. 6. Webster to Sartiges, Washington, April 29, 1852.

[3] F.O. 5/545. Crampton to Malmesbury, No. 52. Washington, May 3, 1852.

[4] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Sartiges to Turgot, Washington, May 3, 1852.

[5] *Ibid.*, Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, May 13, 1852.

[6] This referred to the boundary dispute between Brazil and the Argentine in South America.

not to know ourselves that the moment to negotiate such a convention, which must of necessity be carried before Congress, was inopportune; that this question would fall like a bomb in the midst of the electoral agitation for the Presidency, and that the passion which the different parties showed in discussing and dissecting it, made its consideration impossible, as it would become a cause of division between the North and the South, and would revive all those dangerous discussions, which had menaced even the existence of the Union, concerning Texas, California, and the other territories acquired or annexed."

But Crampton and Sartiges were tenacious. They explained that the guarantee idea was not new, for Jackson had proposed it to Spain at an earlier date, and supported it with a willingness to use force on her behalf. If the Ministers were tenacious, Fillmore was obdurate, and definitely declared that he would study the project "and when the agitation of the presidential election was ended by the choice of a candidate for president, he would be in a position to reply to our proposal." In any case, although impressed by the proposed tariff bounty plan, he doubted the constitutionality of the tripartite convention unless a phrase were inserted to read "as far as the Constitution allows" or "in so far as they are able." This was the most they could get out of Fillmore [1] and it is significant that no record exists in the United States of the conferences wherein Fillmore and Webster, while definitely approving the tripartite abnegatory principle, insisted on postponing further discussion until after the election. In general, then, the American attitude was disappointing to Turgot who expressed his displeasure to Aupick for Spanish consumption,[2] and to Howden and Miraflores in Madrid, the latter feeling that the proffer had been premature.[3] Although disappointed at the American attitude toward the tripartite convention,[4] Turgot was pleased by Webster's assurances

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Sartiges to Turgot, Washington, May 7, 1852.

[2] *Ibid.*, Espagne, Vol. 840. Turgot to Aupick, Paris, May 22, 1852.

[3] *Ibid.*, Aupick to Turgot, Madrid, June 2, 1852.

[4] *Ibid.*, Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, May 27, 1852.

of American respect for Spanish sovereignty in Cuba,[1] and he expressed to Walewski his eager impatience for a renewal of the discussions after the elections.[2] Lord Cowley informed Malmesbury with evident surprise that Webster "appears to have returned to Mon. de Sartiges exactly the same answer as he returned to Mr. Crampton," and noted that Turgot "looks upon Mr. Webster's reply as very evasive." [3]

Crampton and Sartiges now misinterpreted Webster's remarks as to waiting until after the election with the tripartite question. On May 23, Sartiges informed Turgot that they merely awaited the conclusion of the two national conventions at Baltimore by June 20, to resume negotiations.[4] Thus it was that on July 7 they determined to address a note to Webster, seeking his reply to the proposals,[5] but decided first to read it to Fillmore, which they did that day. Fillmore now explained that the postponement meant until after the November elections to prevent the use of the Cuban question at the polls

"as a party test, for if this were done, it would enroll half the Country against it, by bringing together the South, who are in favour of the annexation of Cuba, and the Party called 'Young Americans,' who are in favour of all annexations, and thus cause so many Political Men to commit themselves in the matter as to render the ultimate Passage, of the Convention proposed, by the Senate impossible."

The Administration, in short, was in no position to support the tripartite measure until after the election,

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 685. Turgot to Walewski, Paris, May 11, 1852.

[2] *Ibid.*, Angleterre, Vol. 685. Turgot to Walewski, May 27, 1852.

[3] F.O. 27/934. Cowley to Malmesbury, No. 294. Paris, June 3, 1852. See also F.O. 27/935. Cowley to Malmesbury, No. 382. Paris, July 1, 1852.

[4] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Sartiges to Turgot, Washington, May 23, 1852.

[5] F.O. 5/545. Crampton to Malmesbury, No. 96. Washington, July 12, 1852. For notes, see U.S. State Department Archives. Notes to Department. England, Vol. 29. Crampton to Webster, Washington, July 8, 1852. France, Vol. 15. Sartiges to Webster. Washington, July 8, 1852.

until when Crampton and Sartiges must remain silent on this subject if they wished it eventually to succeed. Fillmore did, however, suggest the possibility of including the Sandwich Islands in the same category as Cuba for the protection of the convention.[1] Fillmore's proposal as to the Sandwich Islands was approved by Malmesbury [2] and Turgot's successor, Drouyn de Lhuys,[3] in August, and the two Ministers now could do naught but await the November elections,[4] which for their purpose must favour the Whigs as the Democrats, with their expansionist policy, would never accept the tripartite proposals.[5] While Crampton and Sartiges were waiting, however, Spain had acted.

Miraflores had been sceptical as to the success of the tripartite proposals, without which Spain would have no protection for Cuba. He therefore instructed Valdegamas in Paris to seek, primarily, the triple renunciation, but, if the United States refuse, England and France were to declare officially that they would not permit Cuba to go to any other power.[6] Turgot sought Walewski's opinion and the latter opposed it on the grounds that the desired guarantee was already incorporated in the tripartite plans and, as Malmesbury agreed, until the United States replied, there was no use considering the Spanish request.[7] Rejected by Turgot, Miraflores tried England by means of a note from Isturiz to Malmesbury,[8] but here again the desire to await American action was paramount.

[1] F.O. 5/545. Crampton to Malmesbury, No. 97. Washington, July 12, 1852. French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Sartiges to Turgot, Washington, July 12, 1852. Including the annexed *compte rendu* of the conference of July 7 with President Fillmore.

[2] F.O. 5/543. Malmesbury to Crampton, No. 76. London, August 9, 1852.

[3] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 107. Drouyn de Lhuys to Sartiges. Paris, August 5, 1852; *ibid.*, August 19, 1852.

[4] *Ibid.*, Sartiges to Drouyn de Lhuys, Newport, Rhode Island, August 23, 1852.

[5] *Ibid.*, Turgot to Sartiges, Paris, July 15, 1852.

[6] *Ibid.*, Angleterre, Vol. 686. Turgot to Walewski, Paris, July 5, 1852.

[7] *Ibid.*, Walewski to Turgot, London, July 9, 1852.

[8] F.O. 72/814. Domestic. Memorandum, Isturiz to Malmesbury, London, July 22, 1852.

Through the summer and early fall of 1852 Crampton and Sartiges awaited the elections of November, paying particular attention to the Democratic expansionist programme. Turgot had feared a Democratic victory as the death-knell for the convention.[1] Thus it was that Sartiges in his reports laid particular stress upon the political situation.[2] By the middle of October, affairs moved rapidly. The *Crescent City* affair on October 18, wherein the Havana customs officials arrested the purser of the American boat for publishing in the United States reports of the corrupt Spanish administration in Cuba, revived the bad blood between Spain and America which had been temperate since the Lopez expeditions and the New Orleans riot, and created an excuse for possible filibusters.[3] On October 24 died Daniel Webster, whose personal influence would have gone far toward supporting the passage in Congress of the tripartite convention. But his death had no ultimate effect on the project, for on November 7 came the election of Pierce, by means of which the American people set their seal of approval on the doctrine and policy of expansion. In the words of Sartiges, with Pierce's victory, " the name of Cuba is found on every tongue. His friends say he will negotiate its purchase," and Sartiges notes that " one reads in the papers that if Spain will not sell, America will take it." [4] In such circumstances, there was but one road for Fillmore to take. He took it. Conscious that, of the two American statesmen who once had secretly favoured the tripartite project, Webster was now dead, and the

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Espagne, Vol. 840. Turgot to Aupick, Paris, July 10, 1852; Aupick to Turgot, San Ildefonso, July 23, 1852 (Miraflores shared this fear); Turgot to Aupick, Paris, August 3, 1852.

[2] *Ibid.*, Etats-Unis, Vol. 108. Sartiges to Drouyn de Lhuys. Newport, Rhode Island, September 6, 1852; *ibid.*, Washington, October 10, 1852; *ibid.*, Washington, October 18, 1852; *ibid.*, Washington, October 20, 1852.

[3] See French F.O. Correspondance Consulaire. Espagne, Vol. 60. Cuba, Havana. Gaillard de Ferry to Miraflores, Havana, October 18, 1852.

[4] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 108. Sartiges to Drouyn de Lhuys, Washington, November 7, 1852.

secret of their views lay alone in his own bosom, Fillmore on November 6 [1] appointed Edward Everett, Webster's friend and Massachusetts associate, to complete the few months remaining of the latter's term and indite to the British and French Ministers a definite rejection of their proposals. Four days later Crampton and Sartiges again asked Fillmore for a reply and on this occasion the President manifested his changed viewpoint. In Sartiges' words, "always expressing it as his personal observation, Mr. Fillmore opined that, if it were accepted by the Cabinet, that project would encounter a lively opposition in the Senate." [2] It looks very much as if Fillmore were planning to lay the blame for its failure on the Senate. On November 18 the Ministers, having elicited nothing further from Fillmore, betook themselves to Everett. They were perplexed by the calm about them and Sartiges observed that "the present administration does not seem to believe in the possibility of war between the United States and Europe as to Cuba, for on December 1, it sends off to Japan the fleet of Commodore Perry." [3] But December 1 was to mean much to the Ministers. Everett has well described the manner of drafting the reply, in a letter to a friend:

"On the same day (November 18) I got the decision of the Cabinet which was merely against going into the proposed convention. On the next day, the 19th (after a very hard day in the Department), I took up my lead pencil after seven o'clock in the evening, to sketch the *heads* of a letter on the subject. Instead of heads, I wrote the letter itself, and read it to the President the next morning in the original pencil draft. I wrote it standing at the sideboard in my room at Willard's Hotel, between seven and eight o'clock, without a book or a document of any kind to refer to. Very little alteration was afterwards made in it" [4];

[1] Bemis, S. F., editor. *The American Secretaries of State.* Ten vols. New York, 1927–9. Vol. VI. Stearns, Foster, *Edward Everett*, p. 121.

[2] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 108. Sartiges to Drouyn de Lhuys, Washington, November 15, 1852.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Frothingham, P. R., *Edward Everett, Orator and Statesman*, Boston, 1925, pp. 335–6. Everett to W. H. Trescott.

and on December 1, 1852, this reply was presented to Mr. Crampton and the Comte de Sartiges. Of the reply, Everett himself has modestly written thus :

" I have in a very long, and (for me) bold letter to the English and French ministers declined to join their Governments in a tripartite guaranty of Cuba, disclaiming, however, all purpose to appropriate it to ourselves. I have taken this occasion to glance at the entire history of our territorial extension for the last century." [1]

But a study of this great State paper indicates more than a mere refusal to participate in the project, and more than a mere survey of American expansion. Everett made it quite clear, to begin with, that the President did not seek the acquisition of Cuba ; " at the same time, he considers the condition of Cuba as mainly an American question," a view contrary to that of the proposed convention. The United States, therefore, declined to adhere to the proposed convention for six main reasons : 1. The Senate would certainly reject it, which " would leave the question of Cuba in a more unsettled position than it is now." 2. The pact " would be of no value unless it were lasting." As " its terms express a perpetuity of purpose and obligation," and, as the Constitution does not permit the treaty-making power to impose a permanent disability on the American Government, the imposition of such a " permanent disability " on the Government would be unconstitutional. 3. " Among the oldest traditions of the Federal Government is an aversion to political alliances with European powers " for, since the days of Jefferson, the United States had been warned against " entangling alliances." 4. The President felt that " the compact, although equal in its terms, would be very unequal in substance." Cuba, due to its geographical position, meant more to the United States, in its relation to Mississippi navigation and the

[1] Frothingham, P. R., *op. cit.*, pp. 333–4. Everett to R. C. Winthrop, Washington, December 6, 1852.

Isthmian route to California, than it ever could to distant England or France. Everett cited the situation of American interest in an island at the entrance of either the Thames or the Seine, and referred to American grievances against the Spanish administration in Cuba, declaring England and France would do more good were they to persuade Spain to " modify her administration of the Government of Cuba." 5. The convention would be merely " transitory," for the evolution and growth of the United States cannot be stopped. After an eloquent survey of American expansion in a period wherein Spain stood still, Everett contended that there was no assurance that " twenty years hence France or England will even wish that Spain should retain Cuba," and that American ownership would be far better than a negro republic. 6. Finally, he asserted that the proposed pact would not abolish filibustering, as Malmesbury and Turgot so fondly hoped, but rather " would give a new and powerful impulse " to such expeditions. Everett therefore concluded that, for these reasons, President Fillmore declined the invitation to become a party to the pact, feeling certain that " these friendly powers will not attribute this refusal to any insensibility on his part to the advantages of the utmost harmony between the great maritime states on a subject of such importance. As little will Spain draw any unfavourable inference from this refusal," for the United States definitely affirms its wish " not to disturb the possession of that island by Spain." [1]

Crampton sent the report to London with the mere comment that he expected the correspondence soon to be published,[2] leaving his chief to express any criticisms of Everett's reply, but Sartiges became voluble in his analysis of the reply and observations thereon :

[1] U.S. State Department Archives. Notes from Department. England, Vol. 7. Everett to Crampton, Washington, December 1, 1852. France, Vol. 6. Everett to Sartiges, Washington, December 1, 1852.

[2] F.O. 5/548. Crampton to Malmesbury, No. 198. Washington, December 2, 1852.

"The Government of the United States categorically declines the proposition. . . . The politico-historical arguments, developed at length to support the refusal, the considerations and assertions presented, are not of a nature to sustain the serious discussion which one would wish to have";

but what Sartiges regrets most is

"the emphasis which President Fillmore placed on the necessity in which Spain may find itself of selling Cuba to the United States, and the declaration which he makes of the right, which the United States reserves to itself, of acquiring, by right of conquest, that island in the first war which arises between it and Spain."

In a brilliant exposition of the situation, Sartiges continued:

"This attitude of menace toward Spain and of defiance toward the European powers, no previous Administration, Whig or Democratic, ever took, and it is because Mr. Fillmore thought that Mr. Pierce wished to take it, that he decided to forestall him, to publish this manifesto addressed less to France and England than to the voters for the presidential election in 1856."

Sartiges rightly asserted that

"it is far from the language held with Mr. Crampton and myself, on the same subject and at various conferences by Messrs. Fillmore, Webster, and Everett,"

and now accused the Whigs of repudiating Webster after his death.

Calderon de la Barca, to whom Sartiges and Crampton showed the reply, "is in consternation, and he thinks that in order to ensure future neutrality as to Cuba, Spain has more need than ever of the aid of her powerful ally France."[1]

Three days later Sartiges forwarded to Drouyn de Lhuys a lengthy report containing "reflexions" on the Everett

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 108. Sartiges to Drouyn de Lhuys, Washington, December 2, 1852.

reply. He promptly noted that Everett had forgotten the internal political reasons for postponing the negotiations after elections and had merely ascribed the delay to Webster's illness. Sartiges forgot in this, that, with Webster's death, Fillmore alone knew of the July conversations, and Fillmore was not proclaiming that fact.[1] Sartiges admitted that the European acquisition of Cuba would produce, in America, the same sensation as the American acquisition of an island in the Mediterranean would effect in Europe, but held this was one more argument in favour of the convention. His survey, which was in general a remarkably fair and accurate summary of the American position, concluded with the idea that France and England must accept Everett's reply as finite, and he and Crampton proposed to go no farther in the matter at this time.[2]

The effect of this document on European thought was naturally more marked than in America, where the trend of public opinion coincided with the policy of the Administration. On December 9, before the reply had reached France, Drouyn de Lhuys had written to Sartiges that, before giving him new instructions, he awaited the Everett reply and the reaction thereto of the British Cabinet:

> "Do not forget to evince in your attitude and in your language that which would indicate that we are following this negotiation with as much zeal and interest as England. We dare not fall behind the Government of Her Britannic Majesty in this affair."[3]

By the twenty-third Drouyn de Lhuys had Everett's reply, and he promptly informed Sartiges that

[1] There is no reference whatever to his quondam approval of the proposals in either the Fillmore MSS., or his printed letters. See the *Fillmore MSS.* Vols. 34–41, inclusive. April 16, 1852—January 10, 1853. The Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, New York; also Severance, F. H., editor, *The Millard Fillmore Papers.* Two vols., Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. Vols. 10–11. Buffalo, N.Y., 1907.

[2] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 108. Sartiges to Drouyn de Lhuys, Washington, December 5, 1852.

[3] *Ibid.*, Drouyn de Lhuys to Sartiges, Paris, December 9, 1852.

"the tone and the form of the document in which the refusal is expressed has caused us some surprise, and I, as did you, find it strange that the language held on this occasion by Mr. Fillmore's administration exceeds in certain respects what we had expected from a power purely and proudly democratic."

Drouyn de Lhuys could but approve Sartiges' conduct and ask him to keep him informed of the effect of the publication of the documents.[1] In Spain the news caused hardly a ripple, for the Spanish Government was becoming accustomed to the failure of its appeals,[2] and the only result of a French project to continue negotiations with the United States in March, 1853,[3] was to draw Spain closer to France, for the former now felt, as the Comte de Alcoy, the new Foreign Minister expressed it, that "the egotism which directs England to pretend interest for Spain" was merely her desire to keep Cuba out of American hands. Alcoy bitterly asserted that

"what England has never avowed, but what she desires, is the ruin of the colony and that ruin she awaits in the revolt of the slaves. . . . The conduct of France is far different, and we do justice to the loyalty of her actions."[4]

Yet of the three nations it was England which assumed the most hostile attitude toward the United States as a result of the Everett reply. On December 22, 1852, Walewski informed Drouyn de Lhuys that Malmesbury favoured an immediate joint declaration by England and France that they *would not permit* the United States to take Cuba,[5] to which Drouyn de Lhuys assented,[6] but a

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 108. Drouyn de Lhuys to Sartiges, Paris, December 23, 1852.

[2] *Ibid.*, Espagne, Vol. 842. Aupick to Drouyn de Lhuys, Madrid, January 16, 1853; *ibid.*, Madrid, February 11, 1853.

[3] *Ibid.*, Drouyn de Lhuys to Aupick, Paris, March 10, 1853.

[4] *Ibid.*, Aupick to Drouyn de Lhuys, Madrid, March 16, 1853.

[5] *Ibid.*, Angleterre, Vol. 687. Walewski to Drouyn de Lhuys, London, December 22, 1852. Etats-Unis, Vol. 108. Drouyn de Lhuys to Sartiges, Paris, December 23, 1852.

[6] *Ibid.*, Angleterre, Vol. 687. Drouyn de Lhuys to Walewski, Paris, December 23, 1852.

Cabinet crisis in London resulted in the overthrow of the Derby Ministry and the rise of the coalition government of Lord Aberdeen with Lord John Russell in temporary charge of the Foreign Office.[1] It was he, therefore, who, in the words of Foster Stearns, "had the opportunity of exercising his sarcasm on Secretary Everett's rhetoric."[2] The London *Times* had commented most favourably on Everett's defence of his position, although it could not agree with his policy. As to American intentions on Cuba,

"Mr. Everett's refusal, though justifiable, in our opinion, as a piece of national policy, must nevertheless be conclusive evidence of the truth of the case, and convince the world of the real views of the several parties concerned."[3]

The London *Spectator*, which after Pierce's election in November had declared "it would be a fatal mistake to pledge this country at least to uphold the perishing interests of Spain against an inevitable doom,"[4] now lauded Everett's reply. "The position taken up by France and England was grossly irrational,—an attempt to maintain a decayed and sinking power by a paper bulwark against the march of Transatlantic events."[5] Lord John Russell and the London *Spectator* did not, however, see eye to eye on this question, and on February 16, 1853, he addressed to Crampton a reply wherein, while conceding the right of the United States to reject the pact, he replied at great length and, in Stearns' phrase, "with at least as much irrelevance" to Everett's "geographical and historical disquisitions."[6]

[1] Ward, A. W., and Gooch, G. P., *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. II, p. 340.

[2] Bemis, S. F., *American Secretaries of State*, Vol. VI. Stearns, Foster, *Edward Everett*, p. 133.

[3] London *Times*, January 22, 1853, p. 4.

[4] London *Spectator*, Vol. 24, No. 1,271. November 6, 1852, pp. 1053–4.

[5] London *Spectator*, Vol. 25, No. 1,282. January 22, 1853, p. 70. See also No. 1,311, August 13, 1853, pp. 779–80. The *Spectator* is "startled to find how nearly this country had been dragged into an obligation to insure Spain against the consequences of her own weakness towards foreign powers, or of bad government towards her own subjects."

[6] Bemis, S. F., *American Secretaries of State*, Vol. VI. Stearns, Foster, *Edward Everett*, p. 134.

Russell would have allowed the reply to pass unchallenged, "had not Mr. Everett entered at large into arguments which the simple nature of the question before him hardly seemed to require." France and England were aware of the growth of the United States, and did not have to be reminded of the old wars. Why

"were these arguments introduced with so much preparation and urged with so much ability? It would appear that the purpose not fully avowed, but hardly concealed, is to procure the admission of a doctrine that the United States have an interest in Cuba to which Great Britain and France cannot pretend."

Such a pretension England must meet. If the United States really sought to prevent European acquisition of Cuba from Spain, the proposed convention would secure that object. But Britain at once refuses to admit that the United States alone were interested in Cuba. Taking up specific points, Russell showed that on the argument of an island at the mouth of the Thames, "an island at an equal distance from the mouth of the Thames" as Cuba from Florida, 110 miles, "would be placed about ten miles north of Antwerp in Belgium." Again, the claim that the treaty would but lead to more filibustering is "not only unfounded, but disquieting," nor would such a convention prevent the Cubans from gaining their independence.

"But a pretended declaration of independence with a view of immediately seeking refuge from revolts on the part of the Blacks, under the shelter of the United States, would justly be looked upon as the same, in effect, as a formal annexation."

Finally, Russell asserted, Great Britain, granting the American right to reject the pact, "must at once resume her entire liberty, and, upon any occasion that may call for it, be free to act, either singly or in conjunction with other Powers, as to her may seem fit."[1] It is interesting to note that Stearns maintains, and not without reason,

[1] F.O. 5/561. Lord John Russell to Crampton, No. 21. London, February 16, 1853.

that " the obvious impossibility " of adopting the proposals of Miraflores in July, 1852, for a dual declaration by England and France, " may help to explain something of the spleen in Lord John Russell's reply to Everett." [1] Be that as it may, there was no appeal from Everett's letter. Russell had blustered about it, to which Everett, already out of office, wrote a dignified personal reply,[2] but the allied ministers in Washington knew that the matter was closed. On February 17 Russell told Walewski that Everett's reply must be refuted as it was dangerous to allow his singular legal principles to be established, to which attitude Walewski said France agreed. They therefore resolved together to edit a joint reply.[3] Drouyn de Lhuys, however, preferred separate replies,[4] and his views prevailed. On February 22 Lord John Russell surrendered his temporary charge of the Foreign Office to Earl Clarendon,[5] who, on being shown the proposed French answer to Everett's reply, deemed it " excellent." " The American Government," he wrote, " will see that France and England without adopting precisely the same language in their notes are animated by the same spirit and have the same objects in view." He therefore asked Walewski: " When will your Government send their note, as I should like ours to go at the same time ? " [6] On March 10 Drouyn de Lhuys sent to Sartiges the French answer to Everett's reply, in which the former acknowledged that France and England could do nothing further, but

" we reserve completely our opinion on the doctrines which he (Everett) took occasion to present with undue solemnity. We

[1] Bemis, S. F., *American Secretaries of State*, Vol. VI. Stearns, Foster, *Edward Everett*, p. 135.

[2] Frothingham, P. R., *op. cit.*, p. 339.

[3] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 688. Walewski to Drouyn de Lhuys, London, February 17, 1853.

[4] *Ibid.*, Drouyn de Lhuys to Walewski, Paris, February 24, 1853.

[5] Ward, A. W., and Gooch, G. P., *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. II, p. 340.

[6] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Angleterre, Vol. 688. Private note of Clarendon to Walewski, London, March 2, 1853.

do not challenge the right of the Washington Cabinet to adopt such a view as it made known to us. We reserve, on our part, all our rights to regulate our decisions and movements if our interest so dictates. But we regret none the less to find the Government of the United States indisposed to join with England and ourselves in preventing every difficulty on the subject of Cuba by an arrangement in which the dignity of none of the contracting powers would suffer."[1]

Two weeks later, in view of Pierce's annexationist inaugural address,[2] he instructed Sartiges to lay the facts concerning the pact before Marcy, the new Secretary of State,[3] and on April 17 Sartiges and Crampton called on Marcy and left the notes of their respective governments.[4] But they had seen the trend of affairs and, a week later, Sartiges reported that he did not expect a reply from Marcy,[5] as he considered the subject closed.

The tripartite issue was indeed dead. But the suspicions of American policy which her refusal entailed, were seriously to affect her future relations with Europe. The Fillmore administration, however, had succeeded, in its declining days, in escaping the dangers of the pact. Fillmore himself had kept the secret of those July conversations well, and had managed to make the transition in policy without unduly exciting the suspicions of Crampton and Sartiges, but the inquisitive Senate had discovered the Anglo-French interest in Cuba in particular and in the western hemisphere in general, and now sought the reason.

Everett had presented his reply to Crampton and Sartiges on December 1. Five days later the short session

[1] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 109. Drouyn de Lhuys to Sartiges, Paris, March 10, 1853.

[2] *Ibid.*, Sartiges to Drouyn de Lhuys, Washington, March 7, 1853.

[3] *Ibid.*, Drouyn de Lhuys to Sartiges, Paris, March 24, 1853.

[4] *Ibid.*, Sartiges to Drouyn de Lhuys, Washington, April 18, 1853. Drouyn de Lhuys approved of this policy. *Ibid.*, Drouyn de Lhuys to Sartiges, Paris, April 14, 1853; for Crampton, see F.O. 5/564. Crampton to Clarendon, No. 89, Washington, April 18, 1853.

[5] French F.O. Corr. Pol. Etats-Unis, Vol. 109. Sartiges to Drouyn de Lhuys, Washington, April 24, 1853.

of the Thirty-second Congress opened with the reading of President Fillmore's final message. The November elections had been decided overwhelmingly in favour of Pierce and his expansionist programme and Fillmore's sole reference to Cuba, *per se*, was to the noticeable lack of authority on the part of the Captain-General of Cuba to treat with foreign governments, and the resultant laxity and inefficiency in dealing with the problems of international commercial intercourse. Fillmore paid more attention, however, to the refusal of the proposed tripartite pact in phrases written entirely by Everett.[1] Declaring that it had been rejected " for reasons which it would occupy too much space in this communication to state in detail, but which led me to think that the proposed measure would be of doubtful constitutionality, impolitic, and unavailing," Fillmore sought earnestly, however, to assure France and England that " the United States entertain no designs against Cuba ; but that, on the contrary, I should regard its incorporation into the Union at the present time as fraught with serious peril." The danger, he concluded, lay in the possibility of racial and economic conflict for

" it would bring into the Confederacy a population of a different national stock, speaking a different language, and not likely to harmonize with the other members. It would probably affect in a prejudicial manner the industrial interests of the South, and it might revive those conflicts of opinion between the different sections of the country which lately shook the Union to its center, and which have been so happily compromised." [2]

For the next two weeks the Senate debated the succession to Henry Clay in Kentucky, the President's Message to Congress, and the question of congressional compensation. But they were not satisfied with the official explanation of the tripartite negotiations. On December 23, 1852, there-

[1] Frothingham, P. R., *op. cit.*, p. 333.

[2] Richardson, J. D., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. V, pp. 164–6.

fore, Senator James M. Mason of Virginia, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted a resolution requesting the President to communicate to the Senate copies of the official correspondence from England and France, concerning the tripartite convention, as well as the reply, "referred to in his annual message."[1] Mason justified his action, first by Fillmore's neglect to explain *why* the proposals had been rejected; and second, by his reply to England and France that "I should regard its incorporation into the Union at the present time as fraught with serious peril."[2] After lengthy debate, the motion was passed on January 3, 1853,[3] and the next day Fillmore transmitted the papers concerned.[4] It is interesting to note a few features in the papers as sent.[5] Everett, in his accompanying note, wrote: "The early portion of the correspondence was, at the request of this department and for temporary reasons which have ceased to exist, regarded as confidential." These reasons, of course, were the campaign of 1852, which Webster and Fillmore had utilized as a cause for delay, but which now remained unmentioned. Again in the text, nothing appeared between the correspondence of July 8 and Everett's note of December 1 to indicate in the slightest either Fillmore's remarks as to the election, or the appeals of Crampton and Sartiges in November before Everett's reply.

In the annals of American History, the tripartite proposals have always been construed as the effort of England and France, at the request of Spain, to prevent the annexationist will of the American Government as to Cuba; proposals stubbornly rejected at all times by the American administration, whose position was best expressed in Everett's famous reply. The evidence found in the British

[1] *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 139.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 139–40.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[4] Richardson, J. D., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. V, p. 183.
[5] See *Senate Executive Documents*, 32, 2, Document No. 13.

Foreign Office records, and still more so in the recently opened French archives, definitely indicates not only Palmerston's statesmanship and essential fairness toward the American position, but especially the secret campaign strategy and the quondam approval of the treaty project, of President Millard Fillmore and Secretary of State Daniel Webster.

THE LATER HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE CUSTOMS REVENUE IN ENGLAND (1671–1814)

By B. R. Leftwich, M.B.E., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 9 January, 1930

I have chosen the dates covered by the title of this paper for two reasons which seem to me to be cogent. The earlier History of the British Customs has been dealt with already in considerable detail by Dr. Hall himself in his authoritative work on the subject, but he will be the first to admit that in his work the later developments are hardly more than touched upon and in addition there is the important work of Professor N. S. B. Gras on the subject, which, though some of his conclusions may be reconsidered, yet contains a fund of information, and from these and the State Papers it may be possible at some future date to solve the remaining problems on this aspect of the Revenue.

Before, however, embarking on the main subject of my paper it may be advisable to sketch lightly the position existing at the Restoration leading up to the crucial date of 1671 when the final break with the traditional practice was made. The origin of the "Customs" goes back into the mists of antiquity, and throughout the Middle Ages the system remained practically unchanged. It is perhaps rather rash to be dogmatic on a subject in which considerable obscurity obtains, but the consistency of practice throughout several hundred years points, I think, to the conclusion that the Customs Revenue whatever its legal definition may have been was a more or less incidental portion of the Crown's resources and was not in its early sense a Revenue but rather a payment to the Crown for

services rendered. We find that throughout a very long period the revenue was derived from two sources, *i.e.* the "Tonnage" and the "Poundage," together with the Customs on wool, wool-fells, hides, etc. Throughout the period the rates were little altered and in the case of the tonnage and poundage, the latter was a fixed rate of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on every article of importation. I would suggest that this payment, varied as it was in the case of foreigners, but otherwise constant over long periods however urgently the Crown might require additions to its resources, was in its origin and throughout the Middle Ages not a tax, but the Crown's remuneration for its services in keeping the coast free from pirates, for the assistance given to mariners in time of wreck and storm and for the protection given by the law to foreign cargoes and shipping after arrival at the ports against the lawlessness of the local population, including not a few of the wealthy and important barons and others in their Norman strongholds. This security to the mercantile population was of such vital importance that a payment of 5 per cent. on the value of the cargo does not seem too heavy a charge to levy. Owing to the enormous difficulties of centralised administration at a time when roads were infrequent and posts were absent altogether, the Customs Revenue was in general farmed out to local syndicates, or sometimes to syndicates of alien merchants such as those in Florence or Leghorn, who employed their own servants in the collection of the revenue. The money when it reached the Exchequer was or was supposed to be expended for the benefit of the mercantile community in maintaining such navy as existed together with various port officials, port reeves and the like to whom the mariner could turn in times of difficulty.

This may have been the original meaning of the Customs payments, but unfortunately the high ideals were not maintained, and in later times we find many quite irrelevant pensions and payments defrayed out of the Customs

revenue. Nevertheless, the old system remained and it was not until the great mercantile expansion of the Elizabethan era that it was felt to be inadequate. From this date, however, the changing value of money and the vast field of new interests compelled some enlargement of the basis of taxation. This was sought in the establishment of the Excise, which was first mooted in 1625 but was not actually introduced until the necessities of the Civil War forced the Parliament to raise funds in this manner in 1643.

The term "Excise" nowadays means a tax on commodities manufactured or sold within the country of origin, but for the first hundred and fifty years of its existence, and more particularly at the time of its introduction, its differentiation from the Customs was not in the nature of the article taxed but in the method of collection. Customs duties were duties collected by the Farmers or later the Commissioners of Customs, while Excise duties were similar duties, often on imported articles, collected by the Commissioners of Excise, who were from the first appointed by the Crown and not, as were the Customs Farmers, granted privileges for a period of three years. This distinction is of great importance, for the Excise was capable of immediate adjustment both as to rates and management, while once the Customs Farm had been let for three years it was impracticable to make much alteration. Any additional tax would have to be put up to farm, and inasmuch as the only competitors would have been the farmers already dealing with the Customs who alone had the staffs and offices to carry on the work, the Government would have been compelled to accept such terms as they alone could offer.

At the Restoration the finances of the country underwent considerable overhaul. The ancient feudal dues had been in abeyance during the Protectorate and it was felt to be inexpedient to restore them. As compensation therefore half the proceeds of the Excise was definitely granted to Charles for his own personal revenue, while the remaining half was

voted to him for life only. The keeping of a standing army was still frowned upon by the populace, but Cromwell had shown the importance of a strong navy ; but for its upkeep the existing Customs revenue was woefully insufficient. It was therefore only a question of time when this ancient revenue must be made more productive. The incentive came with the two national calamities of 1665 and 1666.

The Great Plague for the better part of a year had placed the whole country in quarantine as regards foreign countries, and for the whole of that time the ports were idle or nearly so, with the result that the Customs Farmers who had made their contracts with the Crown were in a state of bankruptcy. To add to their misfortunes came the Great Fire which destroyed their chief office in London together with their books of account and complicated beyond solution their dealings with the City merchants to whom in very many cases they had given long credits for the payment of duties. It is not surprising therefore to find the Government anxious to follow the precedent of the Excise revenue in establishing a system of direct collection which should free them from the inconvenience of fixed tenures of three years' duration and enable them to expand the taxation of the country at any moment by the passage of the necessary Act of Parliament. Such a break-away from the centuries-long tradition of the past, however, could not be easily undertaken. As always, many vested interests stood in the way and so the system of farming was continued for a brief while. In 1668, however, the rebuilding of the Custom-house was commenced by Sir Christopher Wren and the building was due to be finished and open for use in October 1671. In June 1671 for the last time the Customs revenue was put up to farm, but before the contract actually commenced the farm was cancelled and the Government took over the whole service, including a large part of the establishment, but at the same time appointing by Patent a very large number of new officials. From that day to this the Customs department has been staffed by Civil Servants

and the old days had passed away for ever in England, though remaining in Scotland until the Act of Union.

It is from 1671, therefore, that I have chosen to date the main body of this paper, for from that year the Customs establishment became not only a body of revenue functionaries engaged in work of the highest financial importance, but they also became, as are Civil Servants in general, a body of functionaries engaged in aiding the body politic in works of national importance for which their ubiquity on the coast peculiarly fitted them. Many of these duties were unpopular, but nevertheless were very necessary for the common good. The Customs undertook the enforcement of the quarantine restrictions. They were entrusted with the prevention of the escape of offenders out of the realm, both political and criminal. They were required to assist the press gang in providing for the manning of the fleet. They kept at bay as far as they could the coastal wreckers. They collected then as now, the money for the building and maintenance of the lighthouses round the coast. They administered the Navigation Acts and the Registration of Shipping and they acted as a true coastguard in reporting the whereabouts of enemy fleets and privateers preying round the coast.

The change from the old system to the new was not carried out without a considerable amount of trouble due in the main to the vested interests involved. In many districts the Customs Farmers had held the farm in the same family over long periods, and to compensate them for their loss of profits and loss of patronage in the appointments pertaining to the revenue was an impossible task. The difficulty was partly solved by allowing them to retain the fees pertaining to the various ports and appointing them to the position of " Patent Customers " and " Patent Comptrollers." These officials did no work in the ordinary way but held the right of nominating the " Deputy Comptrollers " who did the real work, and they also for the next hundred years or more drew fees levied on docu-

ments of all sorts passing through the Custom-house. In general the Board of Customs were compelled to acquiesce in their nominations to the post of Comptroller, etc., and only proved incapacity could nullify the nomination. The Comptroller or more frequently the Deputy-Comptroller, in addition to the salary he received from the Patent Officer for checking his fee account, was also paid a small retaining fee by the Board of Customs for acting as check officer on the collector, whose accounts he kept in duplicate and with whom he was jointly responsible for the custody of the King's Chest.

The new Board of Customs established in 1671 consisted of six Commissioners at a salary of £2,000 per annum, and among the higher officers were three General Surveyors, one Receiver-General, one Secretary, one Comptroller-General of the Accounts and one Solicitor. There was also a surveyor in Virginia at £250 per annum and one in Maryland at £200. With the exception of the collector of Bristol, who received £400 per annum, and one or two others, the whole of the remainder of the staff received less than £200 a year and the vast majority under £50 per annum. On the London staff we find that Sir Nicholas Crisp, one of the last of the Customs Farmers, was appointed collector at a salary of £276 per annum, so that his connection with the Customs remained, though the tablet to his memory underneath the urn in which rests his heart in Hammersmith Church makes no mention of this fact. The newly established officials were installed in Sir Christopher Wren's Custom-house which had just been erected after the calamity of the Fire and was now ready for occupation. As early as September 13, 1666, immediately after the Fire, the King had included in his declaration to the City of London a statement that the Government would use all expedition in rebuilding and enlarging the Custom-house, but owing to the difficulties of the time the actual warrant for rebuilding was not signed until 1668. As promised, the new building was very much larger than the one it succeeded.

The detailed accounts of its costs are still extant and are valuable for the light they throw on prices of building materials and workmanship during that strenuous period of rebuilding the vast area destroyed in the Fire. The total cost was £10,252 6*s*. 8¼*d*.

In the provinces the average staff for the local Out-Ports was a collector, a comptroller, a land surveyor and a tide surveyor and perhaps half a dozen officers, together with tidesmen and boatmen and occasionally a smack attached to the port manned by a captain, six men and a boy. It is to be noted that one of these smacks was stationed at Gravesend, and this vessel a few years later figured prominently in the abdication of King James the Second. Riding officers who figure so frequently in smuggling fiction were not appointed until towards the end of the century when the increase of smuggling rendered greater mobility necessary. As before remarked, the comptrollers were appointed, subject to confirmation by the Board, by the Patent Officers of the port, and the clerical staff in the collector's office was appointed by the collector, who was responsible for their work, character, and especially in later times for their adherence to the House of Hanover and the Protestant Succession.

The next few years passed comparatively peacefully while the commissioners were generally putting matters into shape. A succession of Acts and regulations of all kinds, many of which continue practically unaltered to the present time, standardised the management of the department. Among these in particular may be mentioned the setting out of the various ports, arranging for definite legal quays for discharge and lading, arrangements for co-operation between the Customs and the Navy for the better prevention of smuggling, quarantine regulations and many others.

The Revolution of 1688, as might be expected, led to great changes in the department. Previous to this date Parliaments had given assent only grudgingly to supplies

for the naval and military services, but the tremendous wars of William the Third and of Anne necessitated raising of funds in every conceivable direction and as a consequence a succession of financial Acts each increasing taxation was a feature of these two reigns. In general the basic rates of the old tonnage and poundage were maintained, but increases termed Subsidies were affixed to each in terms of fractional parts of the original until the total amount was more than doubled, while specific taxes were also placed on special objects. At the same time, however, there was little increase in the departmental staff and as a natural result smuggling, hitherto comparatively rare, increased until it reached a tremendous height. It must not be thought, however, that smuggling was entirely due to a desire to evade payment of duties. This is an error that the majority of economists help to perpetuate. A large, in fact a very large part of smuggling all through the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century, was due to the natural and quite justifiable desire to obtain commodities not legally obtainable. When it is remembered how large a period of that time was one of warfare with the Continent and particularly with France, the difficulties are apparent. All enemy goods were prohibited and this included brandy and French lace and silk, and in that luxurious age it was too much to expect the English public to do without these articles over long periods of time. Again the paternal government protected many home industries by an absolute prohibition on importation of many articles in common use, and the seat of these industries was frequently in the Midlands. Roads were few and railways or canals were non-existent, and, with only the lumbering wagons taking a ton or two at a time on their slow and lengthy journeys, it was an impossibility for many along the coasts to procure the goods at any reasonable price from English manufacturers but the easiest thing in the world for them to obtain supplies from France or Holland. Thus there was every inducement among the

general public to assist smuggling, and there arose a very lax but very understandable attitude as to its wrongfulness. It was this attitude of the general public, including the magistrates, that for more than a century caused the greatest difficulties with which the department had to contend.

In the early part of the eighteenth century smuggling began to grow apace, and in 1733 the first Government Commission of any importance on the subject printed a lengthy report on this and other frauds against the Customs revenue. The one prime embarrassment of the Customs staff was that in its nature it was a coastal staff. Once through the thin line of Customs officers round the coast the smugglers were practically immune as only Customs officers had powers under the Customs Acts. The smugglers therefore banded themselves in large bodies, against whom the few local officers were powerless, and landed their goods under their noses, requisitioning horses and carts from the local farmers to get their goods speedily inland where, once safely hidden in proximity to the market towns, they were safe.

It was to defeat this that the Excise Bill of Walpole was directed. Its general scheme was to place a small Excise duty on all articles which experience showed were readily smuggled, such as tea and tobacco. This duty was to be in addition to the Customs duty, but its aim was not merely an increase of revenue. The main purpose of the bill was to bring the various articles legally under the purview and within the scope of the Excise in order that the Excise officers who were situated in every market town in the country might have legal claim in the courts to seize smuggled goods, as it was felt that these officers with their peculiar local knowledge and with direct contact with the inhabitants would speedily run to earth the large quantities of smuggled goods which had succeeded in penetrating the Customs line of defence.

As all the world knows, the Bill was thrown out owing

to a quite unjustifiable popular outcry engineered by Walpole's enemies, and the Customs Service was left to deal as best it could with the smugglers. The Board did its best under great difficulties. Large bodies of soldiers were requisitioned from the military authorities to be placed along the coast in small parties to assist the officers; but though the soldiers were duly provided their help was not of great value as the duty was much disliked and was not without its dangers. Later the Board turned their attention to the smuggling vessels rather than to the smugglers and built a large number of revenue-cruisers, placed on regular beats round the coast to keep off the smuggling craft before they could land their cargoes. The smugglers retaliated by building larger, faster and more heavily armed vessels than before and in general were able to defeat the attempts of the department to deal with them effectually. This arose not from any want of will on the part of the Customs authorities but from the inherent nature of the problem. The profits of smuggling were enormous if successfully carried out and the losses were not great in case of failure. In consequence, the smuggling vessels were constructed on the fastest lines without much regard to seaworthiness and of the cheapest and lightest materials. The revenue-cruisers, however, which had to keep the seas winter and summer, in sunshine and storm, were necessarily constructed of the best and strongest materials and were in fact very fine ships indeed, but from their very qualities their speed suffered and they were frequently out-sailed by their opponents.

In carrying out this changed line of defence from the seashore to the sea itself the department at first commenced with considerable caution. For many years officers bearing Customs commissions had as a reward for their exertions against the smugglers, received one-half of the produce of the seizure at the subsequent Customs sale and on this basis the commissioners were at first able to find many private venturers willing to fit out craft against the

smugglers without any expense to the revenue. A Customs commission was granted to the captain and no further action was taken by the department. In some instances, notably on the south coast, quite a fleet of these vessels was owned by one individual, but many isolated persons fitted out vessels on the same terms under commissions granted by the Board which enabled them to fly the Customs flag and pennant. From about 1770 onwards, however, these vessels began to be inadequate. The smugglers increased the size, armament and crews of their vessels, and private venturers were unable to cope with the increased power of the smuggling vessels. The Customs Board therefore began, at first tentatively but later regularly, to build their own vessels, which were heavily armed, carrying crews recruited in times of peace mainly from discharged naval seamen. Service on these craft was much sought after, as though the wages were appallingly inadequate, there were good prospects of windfalls from making rich seizures ; but what was a most compelling reason was that service thereon carried with it a certificate of exemption from the liability to impressment. Beginning with from forty to fifty tons burthen the size of these vessels soon increased to an average of about a hundred tons, while at the beginning of the nineteenth century one or two considerably exceeded this tonnage. The crews ranged from about fourteen men to over thirty, and they invariably carried a boy whose duties, however, remain something of a mystery. It is believed that at a quite recent date some of these fine vessels were still afloat, for when well cared for there seems to be no definite period at which a well-built craft is due for the ship-breaker's yard. A few years ago the receding of the sand after a gale on the shore at Yarmouth between the town and the river mouth uncovered the blackened timbers of the *Hunter* which was wrecked there three-quarters of a century earlier.

In the period between 1790 and 1815 during the constant wars many of these vessels were detached for naval service

as despatch boats, and during the blockade of Boulogne before Trafalgar they were employed with the blockading fleet. For at least seventy years the bulk of them were built at Gely's (now White's yard) at Cowes.

At times when the revenue-cutters were abroad on naval service, captured smuggling craft of all sizes and rigs were taken into the service, but owing to their flimsy construction their usefulness was very limited although they were capable of great speed.

In treating of the revenue-cutters we have, perhaps, owing to the fact that smuggling is the chief *raison d'être* of the department, covered the period rather hurriedly and overlooked many other questions of administration which arose from time to time during the eighteenth century.

The period of comparative peace with foreign countries until the outbreak of the wars of William the Third and of Queen Anne, was occupied by the Board in a general strengthening of the administration not only of purely revenue matters but also of the Quarantine Service and procedure under the complicated Navigation Acts. On the outbreak of war, however, different considerations arose and the Customs Service became the coastguard in the more limited sense of that term. It was found that the "Owling" or Export Wool trade prohibited by law increased enormously, and along with this illicit trade the import smuggling, hitherto almost negligible, grew to tremendous proportions. The activities of this clandestine trade were accompanied by a large correspondence with enemy subjects, and as a consequence the spying and general leakage of information became so great as to render drastic measures necessary. Accordingly some fifty "Riding Officers" with horses and servants were appointed to guard the coast from the Isle of Sheppey to Emsworth near Chichester.

Their task was exceedingly difficult as the local interest, largely centred as it was in the smuggling and owling trade, was all against them; but nevertheless it seems to

have been adequately carried out as there are on record numerous instances of the capture of French smugglers or spies. Their appointment was regarded rather as a war-time measure, but in 1713 they became a permanent and important branch of the service on all parts of the coast and so remained throughout the period under review.

In 1707 the Act of Union came into effect and this in its turn brought new problems. With the passing of the Act perished the age-old system of Revenue collection in Scotland which had been farmed on similar lines to the old English Customs but was further complicated by the peculiar system of attaching privileges, sometimes very inconvenient privileges, to the numerous Royal burghs with whom alone was vested the foreign trade of the country. This system in the case of Leith, for instance, necessitated all foreign goods being carted in charge of *Land Carriage Waiters* from that port up the long and dreary Easter Road past Holyrood House to be sold at Edinburgh Market Cross.

These ancient usages passed away at the Act of Union and as far as possible the Scottish system was assimilated with that of England, and to this end a large staff of English officers was despatched to Edinburgh to carry out the necessary changes, although the Scottish Revenue continued to remain under Scottish Commissioners. The cost of this expedition is shown in the Scottish accounts as being £199. In 1710 this practice of obtaining advice from the English Customs still seems to have been in use, as in the accounts for that year there appear two rather amusing items under date September 29,

> "To Major Thomas Harding his extraordinary expenses for himself, horse and servants being sent from London to taste the wines under seizure at 30*s.* per day from 1st July 1709 to 24th January following, £202 17*s.* 6*d.*"

Richard Green, wine-cooper, was similarly sent for the same purpose from 8th July to 24th October 1710 at 13*s.* 4*d.* per diem, his total bill being £72 13*s.* 4*d.*

Difficulties still continued, and in 1723 the two Customs Boards were amalgamated under the title of Commissioners of Customs for Great Britain, there being no less than fourteen commissioners under the joint Board, all at a salary of £1,000 per annum each.

Under the joint Board assimilation of practice was greatly facilitated, but nevertheless it is not apparent that any great changes took place. The advantage consisted in the main in greater facility of communication and greater elasticity, for under the new order seven commissioners were to reside in London while five were to reside in Edinburgh. The duties of the remaining two were somewhat vague as they were appointed to "serve at the out-ports of Great Britain." In 1742 a reversion was ordered to the former system and two separate Boards were appointed for the English and Scottish Customs respectively, the apparent motive for the change being a desire to reduce the salaries of the Scottish Board to £400 per annum each.

At this period the administration in London was carried out by a staff that had grown to very large proportions. It would be tedious to mention in detail the various grades, but one or two may be noted. There were nine Commissioners at £1,000 per annum, one Secretary, three Solicitors, one Receiver-General, one Register-General of Ships, one Surveyor of the Out-ports, one Inspector of Prosecutions.

One feature of the administration during the early part of the eighteenth century calls for comment, and that is the fact that the Customs Service was peculiarly the department of State in which sinecure appointments were given to State benefactors and Royal favourites. Why this should be so is not clear, but the fact remains. In Queen Anne's reign, for instance, Matthew Prior was one of the Commissioners of Customs, while William Congreve the dramatist was first a Patent Customer for Poole and later a "Searcher" in the Port of London. Horace Walpole was similarly a Receiver-General of the Customs, and there are many others of less note.

Passing to the second half of the eighteenth century the only really important change over a period of many years was the passing of the Customs Consolidation Act of 1787. This Act changed the fundamental basis of the Customs revenue, which from time immemorial had been the value of the articles imported, to a specific tax on each article. With this Act went the long series of rate books in which from time to time the official values of the various commodities had been set out in order to procure some sort of uniformity in widely separated ports. The Act also provided for the bonding of goods and the payment of the duty not at importation but at such time as the merchant should find convenient. Bonded warehouses, however, were not established till some years later. About the same time, *i.e.* in 1785, the Sufferance Wharves were established to supplement the Legal Quays, particularly in London where the accommodation had for long been greatly insufficient for the growing business of the port. Sufferance wharves differ from Legal quays in that the owner is required to give surety for the payment of the duty and safe custody of the goods, while the privileges are subject to periodical review and can be withdrawn where the privilege is abused, or is no longer required in the public interest.

In 1801 the Act of Union with Ireland took effect, but the change did not greatly affect the Customs Service. The three Boards of Commissioners continued to function in London, Edinburgh and Dublin and were not amalgamated until 1824. In 1803, however, a very important change was carried out by the passing of what is known as the Warehousing Act of that year. Bonding of goods for later payment of the duty had been carried out for many years. In fact it would be difficult to say when this ancient practice commenced. The East India Company had long enjoyed special privileges in this matter and tobacco had also been accorded special treatment. For the small importer, however, who could not readily find sureties in a strange port,

bonding was impossible and the payment of the duty immediately on importation was a great handicap in competing with those in a large way of business to whom the finding of sureties would present no difficulties. It was to remedy this that the Warehousing Act was passed, the warehouse-keeper giving the necessary sureties and the importer, whether on a large or small scale, was thus provided with a warehouse where for a small rent he could keep his wares until the state of the market made it profitable to release them. This was an immense step in the way of facilitating trade and its effects are apparent to the present day, the warehousing system having grown to great proportions. Among other advantages it simplified the administration in that all goods intended for future exportation could remain under bond in warehouse until wanted and be then exported without the payment of drawback with all its somewhat complicated regulations.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the accommodation afforded by the Chief Office in London had become increasingly inadequate. The Custom-house which had been built by Thomas Ripley in 1718, following the great fire in Thames Street of January 1715, had had to be supplemented by offices hired in the neighbourhood and the building itself had become dilapidated. Ripley's building had been in large part built on the foundation walls of Sir Christopher Wren's building which was almost wholly destroyed in this disastrous fire and probably after such a lapse of time the foundations were none too good.

In order not to disorganise the business of the Port, the Government in 1811 purchased the whole of the Legal Quays lying between the Custom-house and Billingsgate Market, compensating the owners, and on this site it was proposed to erect a building which should be adequate for the business of the port. The architect chosen was David Laing, Surveyor of Buildings to the Customs Department, who was also, it may be noted, architect of the new nave of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East. As with all previous Custom-

houses, great difficulties were experienced with the foundations. The older buildings had been built on more or less firm ground which was found by going to a small depth; but on the new site it was found that none was available and it was necessary to build on piles. The foundation-stone was laid with great ceremony in 1813, and in February 1814, when the new building was hardly more than showing above the ground, Ripley's Custom house, once one of the show buildings of the City of London, was burnt entirely to the ground with all its contents, including practically the whole of its priceless records of the trade and revenue of the country.

Here we must leave the subject, although not a tenth of the romantic history of this important Government department has been told.

How smuggling was finally conquered and how the new Customs building collapsed, how the three kingdoms were finally joined under one Board, how peace and war hung in the balance in the great *Alabama* case and many other matters must remain for a future occasion.

WILLIAM HUSKISSON AND THE CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS AT LISKEARD IN 1802 AND 1804

By Professor G. S. Veitch, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 12 December, 1929

On 9 March, 1804, by an overwhelming majority of its few electors, the little Cornish borough of Liskeard chose William Huskisson to represent it in Parliament. Huskisson at once found himself entangled in a complicated quarrel that was none of his making, for the election was a mere episode in the midst of a long-drawn battle. Even a smashing poll was not conclusive, and with great ingenuity Huskisson was kept out of his seat for more than three months. Meantime there raged as pretty a contest as ever delighted a House which took unholy pleasure in disputed returns.

Disputed returns were, of course, in that day common enough. Those of this very Parliament, the second of Great Britain and Ireland, had their own peculiar historian, Robert Henry Peckwell, who exhausted himself in three volumes and never completed the tale.[1] But the Liskeard dispute had features of unusual interest. One controverted election overlapped and complicated a second. The dispute of 1804 arose from an alleged double return, which was no double return. The parliamentary battle which it excited was possibly a minor element in the struggle between Addington and the younger Pittites which led, before the end of the dispute, to the fall of Addington and the restoration of Pitt to office. And, as a point of more interest

[1] R. H. Peckwell, *Cases of Contested Elections in the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom, begun . . . 31 August*, 1802. Vol. I, part 1, 1805; part 2, 1804; Vol. II, part 1, 1806. I cannot discover that this work was ever completed. Peckwell took the coif in 1809, was knighted in 1822, and was C.J. at Calcutta, 1822–3.

than importance, the actual names both of voters and of claimants to vote are for the most part known.

Liskeard was a snug rotten borough, with a population of about a thousand and an electorate of less than forty. The right of election was in the corporation and freemen. In 1792 it was alleged that, in addition to the corporators, only seven freemen were entitled to vote, making in all thirty-two electors. But even that staunch reformer, Dr. Oldfield, did not question their established right to this monopoly, and there had never, apparently, been occasion to test it by a "determination" of the House of Commons. On two other points Oldfield was explicit: the Mayor was the returning officer, and Lord Eliot was the patron.[1]

Liskeard was one of a group of three Cornish boroughs, Grampound and St. Germans being the others, from which the Eliots drew their political strength. In 1784 John Robinson reckoned all three among the boroughs to be had for money, and in one calculation bracketed them together, with the note, "suppose £10,000." Mr. Edward Eliot, then head of the clan, could himself also command one of the seats for the county.[2] But before the election of 1784

[1] T. H. B. Oldfield, *History of the Boroughs* (1792), I, 183–6, and *Representative History* (1816) III, 250–1; cf. Browne Willis, *Notitia Parliamentaria*, II (1716), 29; John Allen, *History of Liskeard and Its Vicinity* (1856), 296; Peckwell, *op. cit.*, I, i, 111, 117; H. S. Smith, *The Parliaments of England*, I, 44. Smith is so useful that it seems ungrateful to point out that he cannot in every case be relied on, *e.g.* he records the return of Huskisson for Liskeard at a by-election in 1800, *vice* Inchiquin, resigned. This seems to be a typographical error, for Huskisson was then M.P. for Morpeth, as is correctly stated in the appropriate place, *ib.*, I, 244. The Indentures of Return show that in 1802 (when 28 voted) 21 signed the indenture; in 1804 (when 24 voted) 20 signed; in 1806 (full poll uncertain) 21 signed. *P.R.O., Writs and Returns*, C. 219/171, 219/176. Liskeard is spelt Liskard or Leskard by Oldfield. In the indenture for 1806 it is Leskerret. Some lines of contemporary doggerel show that it was pronounced Liskard, with the second syllable accented. Peckwell gives a brief analysis of the indentures from 13 May, 6 and 7 Edward IV to 6 July, 1802, *op. cit.*, I, i, 119–125.

[2] *Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson*, 1774–1784, *ed.* W. T. Laprade, C.S., 3rd Series, XXIII, 1922, 107, 128, 82–4.

he was raised to the peerage as Baron Eliot of St. Germans.[1] This set free a county seat, but two of Lord Eliot's sons came in for Liskeard: John, his successor in the title, and Edward James, who next year married Pitt's sister Harriot.

John Robinson seems to make two points clear. He confidently expected that Lord Eliot's seats would be held for Pitt, but equally he expected to pay for them. Business was business, and the Eliots made of their boroughs a pathway to money, place and honours as well as to Parliament.[2] After a fashion quite delightful to themselves, they managed to reconcile good bargains with the maintenance of a strong family representation in the House of Commons. If, in all this, the strain of pure Pittite enthusiasm seems to run a little faint, it is to be remembered that the intimate friend of Pitt and Wilberforce was Edward James, not his father, Lord Eliot, who proved indeed rather stiff about his son's poor marriage with Lady Harriot Pitt.[3] If Edward James was a dreamer, though often a salaried dreamer, Lord Eliot emphatically was not.

Though Liskeard had lost its independence, as the price of sacrifice it was in many material respects exceedingly fortunate. To secure the patronage the Eliots had made it a handsome return. For many years, says Mr. Courtney, they "had discharged the greater part of the expenses which ought to have been defrayed by the householders of the borough.

[1] *Cr.* 30 January, 1784: manifestly an election peerage. This date seems to confirm a suspicion that Robinson's "Last State" should be assigned to a date earlier than April.

[2] Edward Eliot was Receiver-General of the Duchy of Cornwall till his death in 1804; E. James Eliot was Remembrancer of the Exchequer, 1786, Commissioner for India, 1793; and William Eliot, after a succession of diplomatic appointments, 1791–1800, was a Lord of the Admiralty, 1800, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1804–5; a Lord of the Treasury, 1807–12; and this is by no means a complete list.

[3] Edward James Eliot, *e. s.* of Lord Eliot, *m.* Lady Harriot, 3rd child and younger *da.* of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, 21 September, 1785. Lady Harriot *d.* 25 September, 1786, having issue a *da. b.* 20 September, 1786. See *The Letters of Lady Harriot Eliot*, 1766–1786, ed. Cuthbert Headlam. Edinburgh. 1914.

No poor-rate, no way-rate, no church-rate was levied within its limits. . . ." [1] This is too absolute, but it is true in substance. There was no poor-rate except in a portion of the borough which lay within the bounds of an adjacent parish. Some evidence there was that a poor-rate had once been laid, but that it had ever been levied there was apparently none. An Elysian rate, laid but not levied, empties no purses and incidentally affords little support to rights contingent on the liability to pay. The poor were maintained partly from the revenues of the borough, " the profits of the lands and mills, and of the fairs and markets," partly " by the benefactions of the gentlemen who live in or near the borough, and interest themselves in its concerns," which is a cautious and well-turned legal euphemism for the methods and patronage of the Eliots.[2]

In contriving that there should be neither church-rate nor poor-rate the Eliots, either by accident or design, had hit upon an admirable means of embarrassing any attack upon their domination by insurgent householders. This is manifest in the sequel. But down to 1802 their patronage had never been challenged. From 1722 onwards Liskeard had been intermittently represented by Eliots, their relations or their nominees, and after 1784 almost invariably by Eliots or their connections. Moreover, from 1714 to 1802 not a contest is recorded. The electoral peace of Liskeard seems to have been unbroken.[3]

But in 1802 came revolt. Inhabitant householders, excluded, as they thought wrongfully, from the exercise of the franchise, had at last grown restive, and had determined to strike a blow for their rights. The immediate provocation can only be conjectured. Mr. Courtney suggests that it was

[1] W. P. Courtney, *The Parliamentary Representation of Cornwall to* 1832, p. 263.

[2] Peckwell, *op. cit.*, I, i, 117.

[3] This is subject to the risks of an argument from silence, which may conceal ignorance, mine or my authority's. But H. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 43–4, records no contest.

the introduction of "carpet-baggers." But in 1797 and 1800 "carpet-baggers" were left unmolested, and in 1802 the challenge was to home-bred Eliots. It is just possible that the resignation of Pitt in 1801 had raised hopes of outside aid in an assault upon a reputed Pittite stronghold. But if direct help was expected from Addington the hope was apparently disappointed. More probably it was a question of leadership: of finding candidates ready to throw good money away on a forlorn hope, and of raising up, at Liskeard itself, a man bold enough to front the Eliots on their own ground and to act as general of the rebels.

In 1802 such a leader arose. He was a young solicitor called Joseph Childs. His father, Christopher, was of Devon birth, but about 1775 had settled in Liskeard. There, soon afterwards, Joseph was born, and in due time Joseph completed the process of naturalization by marrying into a straight-run Cornish family. He was apparently about twenty-six when, to "his discomfort and pecuniary loss," and also a good deal to the discomfort and pecuniary loss of others, he espoused the cause of the inhabitant householders and directed their campaign.[1]

On 28 June, 1802, Parliament was dissolved and the long peace of Liskeard was broken. Hopes of a "smart contest" of "the Independent interest against Mr. Elliot and his colleague" had died down before polling-day,[2] on 6 July, eight days after the dissolution. But just as the returning officer was proceeding to the poll there arose what a correspondent of the *Times* called "a sharp and unexpected contest."[3] Lord Eliot's nominees were his

[1] Allen, *op. cit.*, 299, 262, 370, 513–14. Joseph Childs married a Miss Borlase, whose mother was a Miss Peter of Harlyn, "both ancient Cornish names." He died in 1829, *æt.* 53. His son, Christopher, Mayor in 1848, when he was responsible for notable public improvements, was a friend of Allen and, it would seem, the source of his information.

[2] *Times*, Thursday, 8 July, 1802.

[3] *Ib.*, Tuesday, 13 July, 1802. There had been a very brief reference to the poll, *ib.*, Saturday, 10 July.

sons, John [1] and William.[2] But two new candidates now suddenly declared themselves. They were William Ogilvie and Thomas Sheridan, both strangers to the borough. If the insurgents resented "carpet-baggers" they had somewhat inconsistently, though maybe perforce, chosen "carpet-baggers" to fight their battle. Thomas Sheridan was, of course, the amiable, engaging, unsettled son of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, a young man whose brilliant flashes of promise created a legend never quite sustained by performance, unless, indeed, by that of his daughters. But who was William Ogilvie? To neither the historian of the Cornish boroughs nor the historian of Liskeard was he more than a name. The *Times* at first confounded him with a Mr. Oglethorpe,[3] and it is very doubtful whether his identity can now be established. Can this adventure have been an unrecorded exploit of that "most ingenious and accomplished recluse," [4] William Ogilvie, the learned Professor of Humanity at Aberdeen,[5] who paradoxically launched a revolutionary scheme of land reform together with the grave warning that great changes "ought almost on no occasion whatsoever to be brought forward by the friends of mankind"?

[1] John, 3rd but 1st surviving *s.* and *h.* of Edward Eliot, was a friend and patron of Sir Joshua Reynolds. He was M.P. for Liskeard, 1784–1804; *s.* as 2nd Baron Eliot of St. Germans, 1804; and was *cr.* Earl of St. Germans, 28 Nov., 1815.

[2] William Eliot, heir male of his brother John, *s.* as 3rd Baron and 2nd Earl, 17 November, 1823, and *d.* 19 January, 1845.

[3] 10 July.

[4] Mackintosh's description in his recollections: *Memoirs of . . . Sir James Mackintosh*, ed. R. J. Mackintosh, 1833, I, 17.

[5] Ogilvie published in 1781 *An Essay On The Right of Property In Land With respect to its Foundation in the Law of Nature Its present Establishment by the Municipal Laws of Europe and The Regulations by which it might be rendered more beneficial to the lower Ranks of Mankind.* See the reprint, ed. M. Beer, 1920, especially p. 32. On Ogilvie's importance, M. Beer, *History of British Socialism*, 1923, I, 109–112, or, better, M. Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, 31–3, 35–6. Biographical material for Ogilvie is scanty in detail. *Gent. Mag.*, LXXXIX, i, 189, gives him only two lines. *Viri Illustres Universitatum Abredonensium*, compiled by W. E. McCulloch, 1923, p. 41, adds little, if anything, to the information in J. R. MacDonald's article in the *D.N.B.*

At the election a number of objections were started to the votes of both parties, but this was mere sparring for position. On the traditional franchise the result could not be in doubt. John and William Eliot each received twenty-seven votes, apparently the highest poll hitherto recorded. The poll of Sheridan and Ogilvie ran to the opposite extreme. It was not quite a record. The record for the lowest poll anywhere is believed to be held by a Dr. Crompton, one of Huskisson's opponents at Liverpool in 1823, who did not poll a single vote. But then he did not expect to do. Not being a freeman, and therefore not being entitled to speak from the hustings, he had got himself nominated merely that he might make his voice heard as a candidate. But the poll of Sheridan and Ogilvie, if not quite a "record," came near to one. Each received a single vote. This poll was not magnificent, but it was war, and for war it was enough. It was less a poll than a protest. For the object of the contest was not victory, but a petition, the means whereby the real fight could be joined later in the House of Commons.

This, however, was not all. Following the strategy devised, it must be supposed, by Childs, a doughty forty-eight, neither corporators nor freemen had tendered their votes to the Mayor, forty-four casting their votes for Sheridan and Ogilvie, and three for the Eliots, while one split his votes between Sheridan and John Eliot. It may be questioned whether this last ambiguous voter had after all achieved the perfect compromise, since he must have committed treason in the eyes of the Eliots by the mere tender of his votes, a crime not to be purged by offering a dubious vote for Lord Eliot's son and heir.[1]

The Mayor, rightly and properly so far as he knew, and rightly and properly as the House of Commons later determined, refused the votes on the ground that inhabitant householders were not, as such, entitled to cast them. Only if an inhabitant householder were also a freeman

[1] The figures are set out in the subsequent petitions.

could he be allowed to vote, and if he were so entitled it mattered not one straw whether he were a householder, inhabitant or not. So the Mayor, having declared the Honourable John and the Honourable William Eliot duly elected, fulfilled the sheriff's precept by executing an indenture of their return, which was duly delivered with the writ into the Crown Office.[1]

Then the fun began, just as the inhabitant householders had from the first intended that it should. There was a prompt announcement that the defeated candidates intended to petition against the return.[2] On 26 November, ten days after the meeting of the new Parliament, Sheridan and Ogilvie accordingly laid their case before it by petition.[3] They alleged that a majority of those entitled to the franchise had tendered votes for them. The Mayor, they said, then " took upon himself without lawful and sufficient cause to disallow and reject them. . . ." They had repeatedly challenged the Mayor to produce " any Act of Parliament, charter or grant of the elective franchise, if such there was, by which it would appear an exclusive right was vested in the Corporation . . . which he declined ; . . . and to produce and read the last determination of the House in respect to " Liskeard, " if any such there was, but which he also refused." They further alleged that he had admitted to vote persons without title to the franchise. They therefore petitioned against the return and asked for consideration and relief : in other words they claimed the seat.

Four days later, on 30 November, a petition was presented from forty-three " Inhabitant Householders of the Borough of Liskeard . . . paying, or liable to pay, scot

[1] *P.R.O., Writs and Returns*, C. 219/171, No. 39. The indenture is between the Mayor, Edward Hobling, " and the Capital and Free Burgesses of Liskeard, of the one part, and Thomas Carlyon, Sheriff, of the other part." It is signed and sealed by twenty persons besides the Mayor and two witnesses. Endorsed, " Liskeard, Received 28 July, 1802."

[2] *Times*, 10 July, 1802.

[3] *C.J.*, LVIII, 25–6.

and lot, and as such having a right to vote at the Election of Members to serve in Parliament for the said Borough. . . ." [1] There is a world of caution in "liable to pay"; first, because, as we have seen, it was uncertain that at Liskeard they had ever paid; and, more generally, because in Scot and Lot Boroughs it was not unknown for necessitous householders to delay payment until, on the eve of a poll, some candidate, hard driven for votes, met the unpaid dues which excluded them from voting. The petitioners further complained that they and others had tendered their votes for Sheridan and Ogilvie; that their votes had been illegally rejected; and that the defeated candidates had in consequence been returned. If the premises were sound the conclusion was, of course, unassailable. Admitting the votes of the householders the poll would be Sheridan 46, Ogilvie 45, John Eliot 31, William Eliot 30. So the householders prayed that the return be amended.

Parliamentary machinery worked slowly but at last it moved. On 25 February, 1803, more than seven months after the election, the House of Commons, in accordance with Grenville's Act, selected a committee to examine the allegations.[2] There is something a little pathetic in the prescribed ritual, elaborate, long and, by 1803, almost vain. The names of those present in the House were written on slips and placed in glasses, from which they were drawn in due order until at length there was made up the required tale of forty-nine, only to be reduced again to thirteen by the alternate challenges of the parties, and again raised to fifteen by adding the nominees of petitioner and defender. It was a tedious device for cheating honourable members into judicial honesty. Once chosen the committee straightway began its sittings. The question of right was argued before it by a great array of learned

[1] *Ib.*, 35–6.

[2] *Ib.*, 203–5. John Fonblanque, M.P. for Camelford, was the nominee of the petitioners: William Dundas, M.P. for Sutherlandshire, of the sitting members. General the Hon. J. Chapple Norton was chairman.

counsel.[1] Charters, ancient deeds, the constitution book of the borough, court records and other documents, " except such as had been mislaid," were taken to London by Edmund Carthew, the Town-Clerk, and examined before the committee. " Many witnesses, chiefly aged persons, were taken thither by each party." [2] Indeed the oldest inhabitants seem to have come into their own and enjoyed an exciting and doubtless a highly profitable time.

Briefly, the petitioners argued that *burgensis* meant inhabitant of a town, as *civis* was inhabitant of a city, an argument which strikes one as a little too classical for Westminster and not quite classical enough for Rome. They contended that the interpretation of *burgensis* ought not to be so narrowed as to include only the freemen. In other instances, it was alleged, the House had accepted their reading. Therefore, they concluded, the grant of the franchise to the *burgenses* of Liskeard was a grant to the inhabitant householders. Alternatively they urged that, where otherwise there was a doubt, there was a presumptive right at common law in favour of the inhabitants. Either plea seems to go, or to be in danger of going, beyond the petitions, for it could be stretched to cover the inhabitants at large. The difficulty of proving the levy of a poor-rate must also have been awkward for the partisans of those liable to pay Scot and Lot. From Peckwell's summary it would appear that there was more than one source of confusion in the petitioners' case, for he thought that in the course of argument they seemed to admit a right in the Mayor and freemen, concurrent with that in those liable to pay Scot and Lot.[3] Had the petitioners succeeded on the main issue this would have been an important and dangerous admission, for it would have left the borough still open to manipulation through the creation by the corporation of large numbers of freemen.

[1] Peckwell gives the names, *op. cit.*, I, i, 110.
[2] Allen, *op. cit.*, 298–301.
[3] Peckwell, *op. cit.*, I, i, 125–7, 111, 117.

There was naturally less interest in the case for the sitting members.[1] All they had to do was to sustain and justify the existing practice, and in this they succeeded. On 9 March, just eight months after the election, the committee found against the petitioners. It reported its "determination" in favour of the Mayor and Burgesses, and confirmed the election of the Eliots. Next day, 10 March, 1803, the House ordered this "determination" to be entered on the *Journal*.[2] With that order, if Grenville's Act meant anything, the controversy ought to have ended. The entry in the *Journal* was the record of a judicial decision against which there was no appeal.

The insurgent householders of Liskeard seemed to have reached a dead end. They had raised the general question of right. They had not merely, as in some petitions, alleged corrupt practice or sought to test individual votes. And the question of right, once raised, had been determined. By the Act of 1729,[3] then operative, the "last determination" of the House thenceforward settled the franchise. In theory at least it drew a line behind which it was impossible to go. Strictly it ought to have had the effect of a permanent ruling. If to the House of Commons the Act of 1729 had, in the main, been a welcome emphasis of its jurisdiction over controverted elections, to the defeated petitioners it seemed an unfair barrier against the assertion of their rights.

They decided to raise the hunt again while the scent was still warm. On 20 December Richard Brinsley Sheridan presented two new petitions,[4] one from the inhabitant householders, the other from Joseph Childs. The petitioners recited the case, contested the decision, and asked leave to appear against the "determination."[5] They attempted, in fact, to appeal on the issue of right, the very issue on which

[1] *Ib.*, 134–145.

[2] *C.J.*, LVIII, 243–4. It did not find the petition either frivolous or vexatious. Sittings had been delayed by the illness of a member, *ib.*, 210.

[3] 2 Geo. II, c. 24, s. 4.

[4] *Parl. Deb.*, I, 374–6.

[5] *C.J.*, LIX, 57–8.

most clearly no appeal could lie. Grenville's Act had been directed against re-trials or reviews by the House, which was now being asked to revive a power voluntarily surrendered in the interests of judicial fairness.

Clearly the petitions were a device to get round Grenville's Act by bringing the issue of right under discussion in the House itself. In the spirit of the Act they ought to have been summarily rejected. But 20 December was the day before the holidays. Possibly the ingenious Sheridan had timed deliberately the arrival of the petitions. At the last sitting before " breaking up " for a six weeks' vacation the members, then as now, were like schoolboys. They were bent on finishing rather than sharp to detect a constitutional impropriety. If a strong ministry had firmly directed the business of the House the trap might even then have been detected. But the Addington Ministry was not strong and its control of the House was imperfect. There is some reason to think that Sheridan may have relied upon ministerial weakness, if not upon the holiday spirit. In any case the petitions were not rejected, but were set down for hearing on 10 April, 1804.[1]

Then death took a hand. On 17 February, 1804, Edward, first Baron Eliot, died at Port Eliot, and John Eliot, who succeeded, vacated his seat at Liskeard. Ten days later the writ was moved for an election in his room.[2] With Eliot's support William Huskisson stood as a candidate. A doggerel versifier, writing in 1806, calls Huskisson " a servile intermeddler " who " hunting on the Borough Scent so hard " smelt out " the rotten junto of Liskeard." There are grains of truth amid the scurrilous chaff. When the squib refers to

> " . . . sophistry that right and wrong can blend
> And make the enemy appear the friend "

it alludes to the reasonableness of speech which was one of Huskisson's qualities, doubtless exasperating to the other

[1] *C.J.*, LIX, 57–58. [2] *Ib.*, 119.

side.[1] And it is true that Huskisson was badly in want of a seat. But it is hard to tell what induced a man of his standing to plunge into the turmoil of Liskeard. Perhaps Lord Eliot and he counted too much on the effect of his prestige, or possibly, relying on the Act of 1729, they discounted unduly the risks of a further petition. Huskisson had, of course, been out of the House for eighteen months and may have feared that longer exclusion might injure his prospects. A more likely theory is that his friends, the younger Pittites, were eager to recruit one of their intimates for the final battle against Addington, which Canning and his allies were already preparing to stage and were anxious to hasten. But had Huskisson foreseen that before he could take his seat in the House the fight would be over, and that, as a Secretary of the Treasury, he would be in personal command of the means to bring himself in on easy terms, he might have thought twice before plunging into the cauldron of trouble at Liskeard.

That there might be trouble he must at least have been aware, for on 3 March a petition from nineteen burgesses of Liskeard, asking leave to appear against the petition of 20 December, was ordered to be heard on the day fixed for the consideration of the plaint of the householders.[2] This makes it plain both that the partisans of the Eliots were awake to their danger and that the House was committed to some sort of review of the case. On the same day Richard Brinsley Sheridan's appointment as Receiver-General of the Duchy of Cornwall, in the room of the late Lord Eliot, was announced in the *Gazette*.[3] The appoint-

[1] An election squib *Addressed to the Independent Inhabitants of Liskeard*, a single sheet [*B.M.*, *s.sh.* 8°, 1879, c. 12 (84)]. It was occasioned by the election of 1806, not of 1804 as suggested in the *B.M.* catalogue. This is proved by an allusion to a " Hobling Mare." Edward Hoblyn was Mayor in 1806. He may be the E. Hobling who was Mayor in 1802, but Huskisson had no part in the election of that year. Edmund Carthew was Mayor in 1804.

[2] *C.J.*, LIX, 132–3 : *Times*, Saturday, 5 March, 1804.

[3] Repeated, *ib.* Sheridan to Addington, Pellew's *Sidmouth*, II, 252–3 ; Moore's *Sheridan*, II, 320–2. The value of the office fluctuated, but was

ment was due to Sheridan's friendship with the Prince of Wales, and overmuch stress must not be laid upon it, but it is suggestive of a feud between Sheridans and Eliots.

In the election of 1804 Thomas Sheridan was again a candidate. With a double petition in sight the contest was as sharp as the farcical conditions allowed. Allen, the Quaker historian, well remembered " the crowd and tumult at the Town Hall." [1] It is a pity that he did not remember more, for no direct evidence has been found to show that Huskisson was present in person.[2] The poll was on Friday, 9 March. Sheridan, with three votes instead of one, did rather better than before. But Huskisson was of course elected. He had twenty-one votes, as against the twenty-seven votes cast in 1802 for the Eliots.[3]

That there was any personal bond between Lord Eliot and his nominee is not clear. It was obvious common sense for the patron of a threatened seat to prefer a candidate certain to enlist the active support of Pitt. But what, if anything, Huskisson may also have paid for his seat is unknown. There is, however, the best possible evidence that he bore the expenses of the election, and for a constituency like Liskeard these were large enough. The bill is among Huskisson's unpublished papers, and it is a curious document. Publishing the writ cost £1 18*s*. The rest is for food and drink, chiefly drink, consumed at the King's Arms on the day of the poll. The election dinner cost £32. Remembering the number of voters, and allowing for the

seldom less than £800 a year. Trouble arose because the reversion of it had earlier been promised to General Lake. Apparently Sheridan held it while Lake was out of the country, surrendered it on Lake's return, and received it back at his death. This would mean that Sheridan lost the emoluments for about a year, as Lake embarked for home in February, 1807, and died 20 February, 1808. Fraser Rae's *Sheridan*, II, 243–5; Pearse's *Lake*, 418.

[1] *Op. cit.*, 315.

[2] Unless, that is, I have misdated the squib referred to above. It implies that at the election to which it relates Huskisson made a speech at the Town Hall, defending the rights of non-resident freemen, and exciting the rage of the opposite party.

[3] *C.J.*, LIX, 168.

general extravagance of the charges, it is fair to assume that thirty-two people probably dined at a sovereign a head. Unless lemons and sugar at 6*s*. were diverted from their obvious purpose, and unless biscuits at 3*s*. were something more than garnish for the port, the rest of the entertainment was liquor, beginning with apéritifs and ending in punch. Besides notable quantities of brandy, gin and negus, the heroic thirty-two are alleged to have disposed of 107 bottles of wine during dinner and of 563 bottles of port after it. Even then one may do them wrong by the conjecture that porter and cyder, costing £7, represented diplomatic largesse to the " lower orders " at the door or in the tap-room. All told £214 worth of drink went to £32 worth of dinner. With five guineas for tips—" a less sum than this " had " never been given "—and nearly as much for eighteen dozen bottles " broken or taken away," the bill passed £258.[1]

Breakages one can understand. But it is vain to suppose that Liskeard had thriftily provided itself against the fashionable prescription of its medical advisers. For none can explain how so small a company, having drunk, *inter alia*, 454 bottles of wine and port, could have carried off any great number of the remaining 216 without disaster by the way. Even Huskisson's agent, John Carthew, blenched at the charges. " I was prepared to pay an extravagant bill for you," he wrote, " but the enclosed . . . appeared so monstrous, that I declined discharging it, till I was satisfied that you were not imposed upon more than those who had preceded you in the Representation here." Carthew seems to have suspected Boniface, as well he might, of replenishing his cellar at the candidate's expense. He fastened on the charges for port and bottles. But Webb, the innkeeper, showed the bill for the previous election, " which amounted to £212," and tried to explain away the rise of port from 3*s*. 6*d*. to 4*s*. 6*d*. a bottle—for these were the blissful days of three-and-sixpenny port—by increase of duty and the like. " The bottles broke and taken away in the former Bill,"

[1] *Add. MS.*, 38737, f. 34.

added Carthew, "amounted to 20 dozen." After Webb's explanation Carthew found so little to cavil at that he "immediately satisfied the Demand." Webb was a freeman, which excuses some complacence. And after all it was the candidate who paid. He might prove a passing stranger, and Carthew had other elections to think of, when votes might count. Even the candidate could afford to be no niggard to the village innkeeper when petitions hung over him. Good will, good temper and smooth testimony might yet be useful, and a little hard swearing a not impossible advantage. Webb would have been more than human if all this had escaped him when he drew his artistic bill.[1]

Huskisson's expenses did not end with the election. He had to defend a disputed return. The Mayor had held the poll in accordance with the determination of 1803, which the householders were resisting. An indenture, "backed" by nineteen burgesses, was duly executed between the Mayor and Thomas Rawlings, the Sheriff.[2] Rawlings did not, however, act in person but through John Dayman, the Under-Sheriff. Dayman's duty was clear. It was to return the indenture, with the writ, into the Crown Office. This he ultimately did. It would have suited nobody had he done otherwise. But meantime Joseph Childs had presented a second indenture, purporting to be the true one. This was a document "executed by the several Burgesses of . . . Liskeard" who claimed that their votes had been unwarrantably disallowed by the Mayor. Joseph Childs and Henry Burgess, "an Agent upon that election," presumably for Sheridan, had twice tendered this pretended indenture to the Mayor who would have none of it. Thereupon, if we follow the story told by Burgess, "they were advised to state the transaction to the Under-Sheriff, . . . which Mr. Childs accordingly did." Dayman, whether partisan or merely perplexed, got out of one difficulty and into

[1] J. Carthew to Huskisson, 6 April, 1804, *ib.*, f. 32 : Webb's receipt, *ib.*, f. 33.

[2] *P.R.O., Writs and Returns*, C. 219/171, No. 63 : dated 9 March, 1804.

another by attaching to the writ, "without the privity of the Mayor," the false as well as the true indenture. Not the least curious part of a strange business is that ultimately the documents were entrusted by Dayman, apparently with the consent of Huskisson's agent, to Henry Burgess, possibly the author of the false indenture. Burgess carried them up to town where Dayman's London agents delivered them into the Crown Office.[1]

Since the second indenture was spurious why did not Huskisson boldly attempt to take his seat? The answer is twofold: both procedure and the political situation were against him. The Clerk of the Crown had certified a double return. He had received two indentures, each sealed with the Sheriff's seal. It was not for him to decide between them. How far a Clerk would carry this doctrine it is hard to say. Would he accept a document manifestly forged or fraudulent? The answer seems to be that he would shelter behind the Sheriff's responsibility and rely upon the ultimate decision of the House. In the present instance the safe course was to certify, as he had certified, a double return. Huskisson's opponents, therefore, held the tactical advantage. Unless and until the House should order the Clerk of the Crown to detach one of the indentures from the writ nobody could sit for Liskeard.

It is possible that in normal conditions that order might have been made. But conditions were not normal. Since the meeting of the House in February the battle had been engaged which was to end on 26 April in the overthrow of Addington. Huskisson was a Pittite. Now the Whigs were obliged to back a Sheridan, and since Pitt's friends were already pressing him hard, Addington was bound to placate the Whigs. In 1804 March was a month of feverish activity behind the political scenes. The King was ill; every faction was excited; and Addington was seeking anxiously for new allies. Already he had negotiated with the

[1] Petition of Henry Burgess, presented 22 March, *C.J.*, LIX, 172; *Times*, 23 March, 1804: *Parl. Deb.*, I, 960.

intimates of the Prince of Wales. But for the Prince's veto, Erskine and possibly Sheridan might have joined him. As late as 15 March in a vital division the Prince's friends had voted with Addington's against both Pitt and Fox. Neither party, therefore, desired a breach with the other, Addington from weakness, the Prince lest the Regency question should arise. Addington, moreover, was friendly to Sheridan and Sheridan to him. In Sheridan's efforts on behalf of his son Addington's influence was, therefore, in the main, cast for the Sheridans. Conditions were thus against a sharp decision favourable to Huskisson. The minor and the major struggles were curiously interlocked, and the debates on Liskeard obviously became part of a more general engagement.

Huskisson made haste to get his blow in first. On 21 March William Dundas, M.P. for Sutherlandshire, presented his petition reciting the story, appealing to the last determination, and complaining that Dayman, " wilfully and corruptly to deprive " him of his seat, had annexed to the writ a schedule bearing neither seal nor signature of the Mayor, yet purporting to be an indenture of the return of Thomas Sheridan.[1] Huskisson was thereby prevented from taking his seat and asked for relief,—for a declaration, that is, that he was duly elected.

Huskisson's case, as presented by Dundas, was that " but one legal return had been made." In such a case a double return was " an absolute nullity. . . . As well might any common scrap of paper, a song or a ballad, be tacked " to the writ. No right was in debate. The House must reject the spurious indenture and admit Huskisson to his seat. Pitt strongly supported Dundas. If the returning officer had executed only one instrument, then only one valid return had been made. " The question now was not who ought to have been returned but who had been returned "—a question for the House, not for a Grenville Committee. If Sheridan had been the only candidate his return would

[1] *C.J.*, LIX, 168.

have been invalid. How then could there be a double return? Before action on the petition the Clerk of the Crown should attend with the writ.

Sheridan then declared that his son had no object but "to ascertain his right." This was tolerably cool since everybody knew that the right did not exist. His son, Sheridan continued, did not even know the name "of this Cornish pastoral Gentleman," Mr. Dayman, but wanted the merits of his case explored. If the return was bad, the Sheriff was responsible and might be punished. That was for a committee to decide, and meantime "the House could not interpose." All of which was to say that Grenville's Act, which Sheridan's friends were still trying to evade by their attack on the determination of 1803, must be preserved inviolate if it could be twisted to cover the farce of 1804.

Dundas bluntly replied that Sheridan treated a paper unsigned by the returning officer as an indenture, and that it was a barefaced trick upon the House. Addington came more than once to the rescue of the Sheridans, though his views have a decision in the laconic summary of the *Parliamentary Debates* that is missing from the longer report of the *Times*. In his more decided manner he did not hesitate in his preference for a committee if evidence were to be taken. In his more flaccid style he reserved judgment on the future action of the House until the disputed documents had been produced. And so, after further talk, it was decided that the Deputy-Clerk should next day bring them to the Bar.[1]

Then on 22 March Burgess petitioned that Dayman, Childs and himself might be permitted to make their defence.[2] Following a deep instinct of human nature they laid the blame on somebody else. By inference this was an admission that something was wrong. But the Mayor was the true villain. If he had signed their document, they suggest, all would have been well, and there would have been a nice, regular, double return in accordance with the best

[1] *Parl. Deb.*, I, 954–5; *Times*, 22 March, 1804.
[2] *C.J.*, LIX, 172; *Times*, 23 March.

precedents. Sheridan, hampered as sponsor for the petition by Burgess's implied admission, was driven, like an advocate with a bad case, to call " witnesses to character." Dayman, he understood, was of " very fair, simple and respectable character " ; Burgess was of good repute in his profession ; and Childs had lately " received the unanimous thanks . . . of the Magistrates of Cornwall." Dundas replied that he would apologise when proved wrong, but insisted that there had been " a gross trick . . . to deprive Mr. Huskisson of his seat. . . ." [1]

On the same day the Deputy-Clerk of the Crown appeared at the Bar, and writ, precept and returns were read to the House.[2] There followed a debate of much constitutional interest. Pitt stated his opinion with even more cogency than on the previous night. " It was now clear," he said, " beyond all manner of question or doubt, that there was not . . . a double return ; . . . with respect to one of the parties there was no return at all." The pretended second indenture was neither signed nor sealed by the proper officer, and consequently was " an absolute nullity." The only " authentic return, stated *Mr. Huskisson* to be duly elected. . . . Here then was no contest between two persons . . . claiming the privilege of returning officer . . . and consequently there could be no question to go to a Committee, either as to who was the proper officer, or as to the fact of a double return." The question, Pitt argued, was outside the scope of Grenville's Act, and within the immediate jurisdiction of the House.

Fox argued otherwise. With his usual acuteness he hit upon an ingenious constitutional plea. There were two returns, he contended, one signed by the Mayor, the other from the Sheriff, " the only returning officer known to the House." " Under the letter and spirit of the Grenville Act " only a committee could decide between them. Now this argument can be traversed in detail. The House did, in

[1] *Parl. Deb.*, I, 960 ; *Times*, 23 March.
[2] *C.J.*, LIX, 172.

practice, "know" other returning officers than a Sheriff, for they had frequently appeared, *ex officio*, before it and its committees, and had been represented by counsel. Moreover, the true return was more than a document signed by the Mayor: it was an indenture between the Mayor and the Sheriff. On the false return it is more difficult to pronounce, since it does not remain on the record to be examined, but it was admitted that any shadow of authority it possessed was derived not from the Sheriff or the Mayor but solely from the Under-Sheriff, John Dayman, upon whom the House ultimately fixed the responsibility.

On the more general constitutional theory of the Sheriff as sole returning officer it might be held, by way of debate, that Fox was supported by the phrasing of parliamentary writs. But if the Sheriff were the returning officer in Fox's sense, what constitutional theory then underlay double returns? How could a Sheriff have two wills or speak with two voices? Except where there were two Sheriffs, or in the conceivable, but normally improbable event of a disputed shrievalty, how could a double return then arise? Either the Sheriff must decide and there could be no double returns, or the House had cognizance of returning officers other than the Sheriff. Fox's argument proved too much. Pushed to its logical conclusion it knocked away the foundations of double returns, and if they were impossible the very case for which he was arguing collapsed.

After much wrangling it was a scrap of legal pedantry that decided the House. The Attorney-General gave an opinion that the House could itself have pronounced on the documents had not the wording of Huskisson's petition brought it within the scope of the Grenville Act, and necessitated a committee. Huskisson's friends accordingly abandoned their plea for immediate decision and consented to a committee.[1] Six days later Thomas Sheridan petitioned for the seat,[2] but overnight he thought better of it and next

[1] *Parl. Deb.*, I, 960; *Times*, 23 March.
[2] *C.J.*, LIX, 188; *Parl. Deb.*, I, 1061–2; *Times*, 29 March.

day wrote to the Speaker announcing that he would not defend his claim.[1] His petition, however, had been put down for hearing, and as the cumbrous machinery of Grenville's Act had thereby been set in motion, the Speaker ruled that it could not at once be stopped. This was less a tactical defeat of the Sheridans than might appear. They were, in fact, playing the oldest game in the world, that of trying to have it both ways, of using this petition as a means of delay against Huskisson, whilst putting upon him the cost of two petitions and themselves avoiding as far as possible the cost of one of them.

Three Liskeard petitions were now before the House: Huskisson's claim, Thomas Sheridan's claim, and the still unsettled assault on the last determination. Thus Huskisson ran a treble risk: a risk of being unseated by either of two committees, and a risk that the franchise on which he had been elected might be pronounced invalid by a third. The Sheridans wanted the last taken first, while Pitt's friends wanted to seat Huskisson immediately by settling his petition under the "last determination." From this conflict arose an involved battle of procedure, amusing and even instructive in detail, but tedious in summary.[2] The upshot was that Sheridan won.

But though Sheridan won on tactics he lost every verdict. First a committee found that the right of election at Liskeard was in neither the resident householders nor the inhabitants paying scot and lot, but in the Mayor and Burgesses.[3] The "last determination" was thus upheld. The other two committees, named during successive sittings on 14 and 15 May, both reported promptly on 16 May.[4] As Thomas Sheridan offered no evidence his committee had no difficulty in finding

[1] *C.J.*, LIX, 188; *Parl. Deb.*, I, 1061–2; *Times*, 30 March.

[2] *Parl. Deb.*, II, 8–10, 24, 361, 409; *Times*, 6 April, 3–10 May; *C.J.*, LIX, 172, 195, 198.

[3] 10 May, 1804. Reported and entered on the *Journal*, 11 May. *Times*, 11 May, 1804; *C.J.*, LIX, 273.

[4] *Ib.*, 274, 276, 281; *Parl. Deb.*, II, 411, 412, 414–16; *Times*, 15, 16, 17 May.

Huskisson duly elected.[1] It had further to consider whether the petition was frivolous or vexatious or both. Following the habit of indulgence to Tom Sheridan the committee charitably found it neither.[2] Huskisson's committee not only reported that he was " duly elected and ought only to have been returned," but that Mr. Dayman " had acted contrary to his duty, and in violation of the privileges of the House." [3] Richard Brinsley Sheridan fired a few shots in retreat, but he could not disguise his utter rout.[4] On 17 May, 1804, the Deputy-clerk of the Crown attended at the House, and " amended the Return . . . by taking off the file the Indenture by which *Thomas Sheridan* " was returned. Next day Huskisson took his seat for Liskeard after more than three months of expense and exclusion.[5]

But the long story is not yet complete. The House was now in the mood to take vengeance for an error that was half its own.[6] Dayman had to be punished. Sheridan did his best for him, but on 11 June he was called to the Bar of the House. He declared that " if he had acted wrong he had done so unintentionally " and begged for the indulgence of the House " to a fault committed solely through an error of judgement." This sounds contrite, but for the House it was not contrite enough, and he was given into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.[7] But Dayman had no stomach for imprisonment. After two days of reflection he had had enough and petitioned for release.[8] Accordingly he was again brought to the Bar on 13 June. This time there were no half-excuses about errors of judgment. Dayman had learnt his lesson and, attempting no qualification, he simply avowed his fault and begged for grace. Satisfied with his abasement the House now agreed to his release. The *Times*,

[1] Allen, *op. cit.*, 301. [2] *C.J.*, LIX, 281. [3] *Ib.*
[4] *Parl. Deb.*, II, 414–16; *Times*, 17 May.
[5] *C.J.*, LIX, 282; *Parl. Deb.*, II, 418. Pitt took his seat, after his re-election for Cambridge, on the same day. *Ib.* 417.
[6] *Ib.*, II, 533; *Times*, 8 June.
[7] *Ib.*, 12 June; *Parl. Deb.*, II, 611–13.
[8] *Ib.*, 664–5; *Times*, 14 June.

one may think, lost an opportunity when it reported baldly that "Mr. Speaker made a suitable address." One may picture Charles Abbot's grim enjoyment as he delivered a rebuke, solemn, dignified, impressive and not too mild, which was ordered to be inscribed on the *Journal*. Dayman was forthwith released, "paying his fees,"[1] and probably too much relieved to resent this last pleasantry of his exit-money. And so ended the history of an unhappy scrap of paper that might as well have been signed, to quote the words of one honourable member, "by the Receiver-General of Cornwall, or by the Pope."

[1] *Parl. Deb.*, 15 June; *Parl. Deb.*, II, 672.

INDEX

Abbot, Charles, 228.
Aberdeen, 210.
Abo (Finland), 85–7, 95, 97, 99, 103, 105, 110–1, 114–5.
Absolem, Bishop of Roskilde, 83.
Acta Regia Hibernica, 27, 37.
Acton, Lord. *See* Dalberg-Acton, John E. E.
Acts. *See* Customs Consolidation; Settlement; Union (1707); Union (1800); Warehousing.
Adams, George Burton, 79.
Addington, Henry, 205–9, 216–7, 221–3.
Addison, Joseph, 23–4.
Agricola, Michael, Bishop of Finland, 95.
Aguirre, Joseph de, 124, 126.
Alabama case, the, 203.
Aland Islands, 85.
Alba, Duke of, 155.
Alburquerque, Duke de, 122–4, 133, 141–3.
Alcoy, Comte de, 178.
Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, 58.
Alexander VI, Pope, 5–6, 8, 14.
Alice of Louvain, wife of Henry I, 55.
Alice (wife of Aubrey de Vere II), 70.
Allen, John, 218.
Alps, the, 8.
Alvaro de la Rasparu, Don, 134.
America (North), efforts to enforce "the neutrality" laws made by, 156; importance of Cuba to, 149–54; negotiations for an Anglo-Franco-American treaty to guarantee the sovereignty of Spain over Cuba, 150–85.
America (South), 141.
Amsted, Natan, 102.
Andalucia, 140.
Andersson, Eric, 112.
Anjou, Duke of. *See* Geoffrey.
Anne, Queen of England, 194, 198, 200.
Anskar, monk, 83.
Antilles, the, 155, 162.
Antiquaries, Royal Society of (Ireland), 44.
Antonio da Venafro, 9.
Antwerp, 180.
Añues, Christobal, 125, 130–1, 133.
Archivium Hibernicum, 44.
Arundel, Earldom of, 60.
Augustinian Canons, Order of, 43.
Aupick, General, 169.
Austria, relations between Italy and, 15.
Avignon, 5.

Babylonish Captivity, the, 5.
Baltimore (U.S.A.), 170.
Barca, Calderon de la, 152, 164, 176.
Baroche, Pierre-Jules, 153–5, 157, 163–4.
Barringer, Daniel M., 152.
Bartholdi, Anna, 101–2.
Bartholdi, Christiani, 99–101.
Bartilsson, Mats, 102–3.
Battles. *See* Lincoln, Northallerton Moor, Standard, Trafalgar.
Baycani (Jamaica), 129, 134.
Beauchamp, Simon de, 78.
Beauchamp, Miles de, 78–80.
Beauchamp, William de, Lord of Elmley, 70, 71 *n.*
Beaumont (Normandy), 65–6.
Beaumont, Hugh de. *See* Meulan, Hugh de.
Beaumont, and Pontaudemer, Count de. *See* Meulan, Robert, Count of.
Bec, Abbey of, 65.
Becker, Jeronimo, 160.
Bedford, Earl of. *See* Meulan, Hugh de.
Bedford, Earldom of, 55, 58, 77–82.
Bedford Castle, 78–80.
Bedford Tower (Dublin Castle), 45.
Begley, John, 44.
Bermejales (Jamaica), 128–9, 131, 133, 145.
Berry, Henry F., 41.
Betham, Sir William, 29.
Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), 47.
Bigod, Hugh, Earl of Norfolk, 54.
Bigod, Robert, 54.
Birka (Sweden), 83.

Birmingham Tower (Dublin), 20, 22–5, 29, 31, 39.
Björneborg (Finland), 94, 104.
Black Friars, Monastery of, 22.
Blois, Count of. *See* Theobald III.
Bodebek, Jacob, 89.
Bodleian Library (Oxford), 47.
Boniface, Mr., 219.
Bordesley Abbey (Worcestershire), 63–4, 67.
Borga (Finland), 85, 87, 91–2.
Borgia, Caesar, Pope, 5–6, 8, 10–12, 15.
Borsman, Henry, 107–8.
Boston (U.S.A.), 168.
Botiller. *See* Butler.
Boulogne, 198.
Boulogne, Countess of. *See* Maud, Queen of England.
Boyle, Roger, Earl of Orrery, 21.
Brake, Per, Count, 90 *n.*, 99, 107 *n.*, 111.
Braunsberg (Germany), 96.
Brayne, William, 122, 130.
Bréteuil, Eustace de, 75.
Bréteuil, Roger de, Earl of Hereford, 74–5.
Bréteuil, William de, 74–5.
Bristol, 192.
British Museum, the, 46, 63, 66.
Brousillon, Bertrand de, 66.
Buchanan, James, 166.
Buckenham, Baron of. *See* d'Aubigny, William.
Buckingham, Earldom of, 51.
Bulwer, Sir Henry, 153.
Bunducu (Jamaica), 118.
Burchardt, Trojanus, 109.
Burgh, Elizabeth de, 21.
Burgh, William de, 21.
Burke, J. Bernard, 29, 31, 40, 44.
Burgess, Henry, 220–1, 223–4.
Burton, annals of, 64.
Butler, James, Earl of Ormond, 21–2.

Cadiz, 138, 140.
Cagway (Jamaica), 122, 127, 132, 136–7, 139, 141, 145–7.
California (U.S.A.), 169, 175.
Cambray, League of, 6.
Cambridge, Earl of. *See* Roumare, William de.
Cambridge, Earldom of, 76, 81.
Canning, George, 217.
Cantock, Thomas, 19.
Capel, Henry, baron, 23.
Caradoc, Sir John Hobart, Lord Howden, 153, 159, 169.
Carelia (Finland), 86, 96, 98, 108.
Caribbean Sea, The, 122.
Carlow, 18, 20.
Carstenius, Abraham, 110.
Cartagena (de Indias), 117, 119, 128, 137.
Carthew, Edmund, 214, 217 *n.*
Carthew, John, Mayor of Liskeard, 219–21, 224.
Cavour, Camillo, 16.
Champagne, Count of. *See* Stephen II and Eudes.
Chancery, Inquisitions (Ireland), 27, 37; records of, 18–20, 22, 25.
Charles I, King of England, 22, 25.
Charles II, King of England, 189, 190, 192.
Charles VIII, King of France, 6.
Charles V, King of Spain, 15.
Charles XII, King of Sweden, 113.
Chester, Ranulph, Earl of, 53–4.
Chester, Earldom of, 51.
Chichester, 198.
Childs, Christopher, 209, 211.
Childs, Joseph, 209, 215, 220, 223–4.
Las Chorreras (Jamaica), 128–9, 131–3, 137, 143, 145.
Christ Church Cathedral (Dublin), 26, 43–4.
Christina, Queen of Sweden, 108–9, 111.
Chronicon Valassense, 61, 67.
Civil War, the (*temp.* Charles I), 189.
Clare, Gilbert de, Earl of Hereford, 52–3.
Clare, Gilbert de, Earl of Pembroke, 52, 70, 74.
Clarence, Lionel, Duke of, 21.
Clarendon, Earl. *See* Villiers, George William Frederick.
Clarendon, Earl of. *See* Hyde, Edward.
Clay, Henry, 183.
Close Rolls (Ireland), 27–8, 39–41.
Commission of Church Temporalities (Ireland), 31.
Commission of Public Records (Ireland), 26–8, 31–2, 37, 39–41.
Common Pleas, Court of, 20, 22, 38.
Communia Rolls, 38.
Congreve, William, 200.
Connaught, lordship of, 18, 21.
Constance, Council of, 5.
Copenhagen, establishment of a university at, 84.
Cork, 40, 43; antiquarian journal of, 44; municipal records of, 48.

Cornwall, duchy of, 217, 224, 228.
Cornwall, Earl of. *See* Mortain, Robert and William, Counts of.
Cotton, Thomas, 20.
Courtney, William Prideaux, 207–8.
Courts. *See* Common Pleas, Exchequer.
Cowes (Isle of Wight), 198.
Cowley, Lord. *See* Wellesley, Henry Richard Charles.
Crampton, Sir John Fiennes T., 162–5, 167–77, 179, 182, 184.
Creighton, Mandell, bishop, 13.
Crisp, Sir Nicholas, 192.
Crompton, Dr., 211.
Cromwell, Oliver, 122, 139, 145, 190.
Crusade, The (1149), 67.
Cuba and the Spanish resistance to the English occupation of Jamaica (1655–1660), 117, 119, 122–3, 132–3, 146; armed expeditions against, 149–51, 155, 172; importance to America of, 149; negotiations for an Anglo-Franco-American treaty to guarantee the sovereignty of Spain over, 150–85.
Customs, The, changes made by the Customs Consolidation Act (1787), 201; difference between the Excise and, 189; difficulties involved by the change from the old to the new system of administration of, 191–2; discontinuation of the system of farming of, 190; effect of the Act of Union (1707) upon, 199–200; effect of the Act of Union (1800) upon, 201; effect of the Restoration upon, 189–90; effect of the Revolution of 1688 upon, 193–5; establishment of the Excise, 189; functions of, 191, 198; officials of, 192–3, 200; original meaning of, 187–8; rebuilding of the London Customs House, 190, 192–3, 202–3; regulations *re*, 193–4, 201; smuggling, 194–9, 203; Walpole's Excise Bill, 195.
Customs Consolidation Act (1787), 201.

D'Abetot, Urse, 71.
Dalberg-Acton, John E. E., 13.
d'Aubigny, William (the elder), Baron of Buckenham, 54–5.
d'Aubigny, William (the younger), Earl of Lincoln, afterwards Earl of Sussex, 54, 68.
d'Aumale, William, Earl of York, 52–3, 60.
David, King of Scots and Earl of Huntingdon, 51, 53, 58, 76, 81.
Davies, Sir John, 18.
Davis, Professor C. W. H., 72–4.
Dawson, Joshua, 23.
Dayman, John, 220–8.
Deed Rolls (Ireland), 29.
Deeds, Registry of (Dublin), 31, 45.
Delisle, Leopold, 78.
Derby, Earl of. *See* Ferrers, Robert de, and Stanley, Edward Geoffrey.
Desmond, 18, 21.
Devizes, 64.
Domesday Book, 18.
Domingo de Silva, Dom, 125, 128, 132.
Domingo Rodriguez de Vera, captain, 123.
Dorpat (Sweden), 95.
Dorset, Earl of. *See* Mohun, William de.
D'oyley, Edward, 121, 123, 127–8, 130–2, 136, 141–2, 144, 146–7.
Drapier's Letters, 24.
Draycott, Henry, 20.
Dublin and the Customs Revenue, 201; custom house, in, 25; establishment of a paper office in, 23, 31; Holy Trinity priory, 43–4; King's courts held in, 18; Law Courts, 26; Marsh's Library, 46; municipal records of, 48; National Library, 46; record repositories in, 29; Trinity College, 46.
Dublin Castle, 18–26, 29.
Duclos, Theodore, 162–3.
Dundas, William, 213 *n.*, 222–4.
Dungarvon (Ireland), 43.
Dunlop, Robert, 44.
Dunstable Priory, 80.

East India Company, 201.
Edinburgh, 199–201.
Edward IV, King of England, 21.
Ekenäs (Finland), 87, 92.
Elfsson, Erik, 92.
Elias, John, 99.
Eliot, Edward, Lord (of St. Germans), 206–9, 216–7.
Eliot, Edward James, 207.
Eliot, John, afterwards Lord, 207, 210–3, 215–8.
Eliot, William, 210–3, 215, 217–8.
Emperor. *See* Maximilian I.

Empress. *See* Matilda.
Emsworth (Hants), 198.
England and Machiavelli, 3; and the Reformation, 15; and the Customs revenue, 187–203; appointment of a commission of public records in, 26–7; custody of public records in, 46; effect upon smuggling of the wars between France and, 194; establishment of the public record office in, 26, 29; negotiations for an Anglo-Franco-American treaty to guarantee the sovereignty of Spain over Cuba, 150–85; housing of records in, 47; Spanish resistance offered to the occupation of Jamaica by, 117–20, 146–7; Scottish invasion of (1138), 51–3, 72–3; war between France and, 61.
England, Kings of. *See* Charles I, Charles II, Edward IV, George III, Henry I, Henry II, Henry III, Henry VI, James I, James II, Richard I, Stephen, William I, William III.
England, Queens of. *See* Anne and Maud.
Erik IV, King of Sweden, 104.
Erskine, Thomas, 222.
Essex, Earl of. *See* Mandeville, Geoffrey de.
Essex, Earldom of, 76–7.
Essex Quay (Dublin), 25.
Eudes, Count of Champagne, 52.
Exchequer, the (England), and the Customs revenue, 188.
Exchequer, the (Ireland), courts of, 20, 28–9, 38; inquisitions, 27, 37; position of, 18; Red Book of, 37, 39; rolls of, 19–20, 22; treasury of, 18; White Book of, 22.
Excise, the, difference between the Customs and, 189; establishment of, 189; grant to Charles II of, 189–90; Walpole's Bill for reform of, 195–6.
Europe, state of (*temp.* fifteenth century), 3–5.
Everett, Edward, 173–83.

Fatebur, Henry Martin, 90 *n.*, 106.
Ferguson, J. F., 28, 38.
Ferguson, Sir Samuel, 30.
Ferrers, Robert de, Earl of Derby, 53.
Ferrers, Walkelin de, 53.
Fiants, Calendar of (Ireland), 42.
Fillmore, Millard, president of the United States of America, 149, 156, 166–73, 175–8, 182–5.
Fincke, Gustaf, 105.
Finland, difficulties of scholars in, 95, 103–5; effect of the Reformation upon, 85–7; of the Swedish crusades upon, 86; establishment of a gymnasium in, 108; of a printing-press in, 114–5; interest of the Crown in education in, 96–101, 103–7; introduction of Christianity into, 83; lack of discipline among the scholars in, 110; lack of education in, 83; methods of supporting the schools in, 88–93, 95, 99, 102–3, 106–9; poverty of the scholars in, 92; procedure in the schools in, 94–5, 100; protection sought by the scholars in, 92–3; punishments inflicted upon scholars in, 111; relations between school and town in, 104–14.
Fire, the Great, 190, 192–3, 202.
FitzOsbern, Emma, Countess of Leicester, 74–5.
FitzOsbern, William, Earl of Hereford, 74–5.
Florence, alliance between France and, 6–7; and the English customs revenue, 188; establishment of a republic in, 6; official position of Machiavelli in, 6–7; overthrow of the republic in, 6; relations between the Papacy and, 8, 14–5; rule of the Medici in, 6–9, 11–2.
Florence of Worcester, 67.
Florida (U.S.A.), 141, 180.
Fonblanque, John, 213 *n.*
Fowler, G. Herbert, 58–81.
Fox, Charles, 222, 224–5.
France, alliance between Florence and, 6–7; between the Papal States and, 6; arrangement of the archives in, 31; effect upon smuggling of the wars between England and, 194; establishment of the Second Empire in, 155–7; invasion of Italy by (1492), 5–8; negotiations for an Anglo-Franco-American treaty to guarantee the sovereignty of Spain over Cuba, 150–85; state of (1513), 3–5, 13; war between England and (1161), 61.

France, Kings of. *See* Charles VIII, Louis VII, Louis XII.
Friez, Hermann, 103.

Galvy, John, 40.
Galway, 48.
Gant, Gilbert de, 52.
Gant, Robert de, 73–4.
Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, 61, 64.
George, Prince of Wales, 218, 222.
George III, King of England, 221.
Germany, relations between Italy and, 4, 8.
Geroud the Steward, 53.
Gerponville, Renault de, 67.
Gesta Stephani, 79–80.
Gezelius, Bishop of Abo, 114.
Ghibellines, The, 4.
Gilbert, Sir John T., 29.
Giovanni dei Medici. *See* Leo X.
Gistersson, Isak, 93 *n.*
Gloucester Abbey, 69; cartulary of, 71; earldom of, 51, 68.
Gloucester, Robert, Earl of, 51.
Godfrey, Count of Eu and Brionne, 52.
Goodson, William, 120, 122–3.
Gournay (France), 63.
Grampound (Cornwall), 206.
Granville, George Leveson-Gower Granville, Earl, 157–9, 161–2.
Gras, N. S. B., 187.
Gravesend (Kent), 193.
Green, Richard, 199.
Gregorius Clementis, Jesuit, 96, 101–11.
Gregory the Great, Pope, 94.
Greifswald (Germany), 95.
Grenville, George, *Election Petitions Act* (1770) of, 213, 215–6, 222–6.
Gruter, Hinze, 88.
Guatibacoa (Jamaica), 130–1.
Guelfs, the, 4.
Gunnor, wife of Richard, Duke of Normandy, 53.
Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, 89–91, 97, 101, 103, 106, 111.
Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, 84–6, 88 *n.*, 96–7, 99.

Hall, Hubert, 187.
Hamno (Finland), 85.
Hansa, the, 87.
Harcourt, Philip de, Dean of Lincoln, afterwards Bishop of Bayeux, 73–4, 81.
Harcourt, Vernon, 72.
Harding, Major Thomas, 199.
Harding, Mr., 28.
Hardy, Sir T. Duffus, 40.
Harris, James Howard, Earl of Malmesbury, 162, 164, 167–8, 170–1, 175, 178.
Härtz, Bartholdus, 110.
Hatchell, Mr., 29, 41.
Havana (Cuba), 124, 126, 130, 134, 143, 158, 163–4, 172.
Hearnshaw, Professor F. J. C., 156.
Hearth Money Rolls (Ireland), 44.
Hedeby (Schlesvig), 83.
Helsingfors (Finland), 86–7, 89, 92, 97–8, 104, 110, 113.
Henriksson, Henrik, 103.
Henriksson, Karsten, 103.
Henriksson, Martin, 103.
Henry I, King of England, 54–5, 57, 69.
Henry II, King of England, 17, 59–61.
Henry III, King of England, 18.
Henry VI, King of England, 20.
Henry of Scotland, Earl of Huntingdon, 51, 62, 78, 81.
Hereford, Earldom of, 52, 72–7.
Hereford, Earls of. *See* FitzOsbern, William, Miles of Gloucester and Bréteuil, Roger de.
Hertford, Earl of. *See* Clare, Gilbert de.
Hill, George, 44.
Historical MSS. Commission Reports, 23, 47–8.
Hobling, Edward, Mayor of Liskeard, 211–2, 215, 217 *n.*
Hoija, Count John of, 96.
Holland, 194.
Hollander, A. G., 94.
Holy League, the, 6–7.
Holy Roman Empire, 3–5.
Holy Trinity (Beaumont), 65.
Hothum, John de, 19.
House of Commons, Journals of the (Ireland), 41.
House of Lords, Journals of the (Ireland), 41.
Howden, Lord. *See* Caradoc, Sir John Hobart.
Howlett, Mr., 69.
Howth, Hill of (Ireland), 35.
Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois, 55.
Huguenot Society, The, 44.
Huntingdon, Earls of. *See* David King of Scots, Henry of Scotland and Senlis, Simon de.
Huntingdon, Earldom of, 51, 58, 81–2.

Huskisson, William, 205–22, 224–7.
Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, 21.

Il Principe, motives which induced Machiavelli to write, 2–3, 9–14; precepts contained in, 10–4; weakness of the scheme contained in, 14–6. *See* Machiavelli.
Ingermannland (Finland), 98, 108.
Ireland, and the Customs revenue, 261; a commission of public records in, 26–9, 31; commission of Church Temporalities in, 31; division of the land in (twelfth century), 18–9; establishment of a public record office in, 28–30.
Isabella II, Queen of Spain, 163.
Islip, Walter de, 19.
Isturiz, Francisco Javier de, 164, 172.
Italy, causes of disunion in (*temp.* fifteenth century), 4–8, 12–3; dreams of Machiavelli for the union of, 7–9, 13; invasion by France of (1492), 5–8; relations between Florence and, 6–7; between Germany and, 4–8; between the Papacy and, 15; between Spain and, 7, 15; union of, 15–6. *See* Naples.
Italy, Kings of. *See* Victor Emmanuel.

Jackson, Andrew, 169.
Jamaica, causes of the failure of the Spanish resistance to, 125–7, 129–33, 135, 140, 143–4; efforts to introduce English institutions into, 121–2; importance to Spain of, 122, 138; relief sent to the help of the Spaniards in, 123–8, 134–43, 145
James, Edward, 207.
James I, King of England, 25.
James II, King of England, 193.
Japan, 173.
Jarl, Birger, 87 *n.*
Jefferson, Thomas, 174.
John III, King of Sweden, 97–8, 100–1, 104.
John of Worcester, 61–2, 67–8, 71.
Jonsson, Henrik, 106.
Jonsson, Jon, 99.
Jonsson, Jop, 88.
Julius II, Pope, 6, 8, 15.
Justiciary Rolls (Ireland), 41.
Juustus, Paul, 95.

Kent, Earl of. *See* Mortain, William, Count of.
Kexholm (Finland), 108.
Kijhl, George, 113.
Kilkenny, 18, 48.
King, William, Archbishop of Dublin, 30.
Knutsson, Marshal Torgils, 86, 87 *n.*
Kossuth, Louis, 157.
Kuustö (Finland), 85.
Kymene (Finland), river, 87.

Lacy, Walter de, abbot, 70.
Laing, David, 202.
Lake, Gerard, 218 *n.*
La Magnana (Jamaica), 134.
Lamartine, Alphonse de, 155.
La Plata (S. America), 168.
Lars, John, 104.
Lars, Petri, 96.
Larson, Derik, 93 *n.*
Lascelles, Rowley, 40–1.
Lawrence, Abbott, 153–4, 162.
Le Fanu, Thomas Philip, 44.
Leghorn (Italy), 188.
Leicester, Countess of. *See* Fitz-Osbern, Emma.
Leicester, Earls of. *See* Meulan, Robert, Count of.
Leicester, Earldom of, 51, 55, 57, 68.
Leinster, 27.
Leipsic, 83, 95.
Leith, 199.
Leiva, Francisco Cartagena de, 125, 134–5.
Leo X, Pope, 6–10, 12, 15–6.
Leominster, 69.
Le Valasse, Abbey of, 67.
Lévrier, M., 62, 65–6.
Lhuys, Drouyn de, 171, 176–8, 181.
Liffland (Finland), 92.
Liguani (Jamaica), 122.
Lincoln, battle of, 73, 79.
Lincoln, Bishop of. *See* Alexander.
Lincoln, Earls of. *See* D'Aubigny, William; Roumare, William de.
Lindelhjelm, Governor of Finland, 113.
Liskeard (Cornwall), contested election of 1802, 208–16; of 1804, 216–28; description of, 206–8; expenses of the election of 1804, 218–20; right of election at, 206, 212–15, 226.
Liverpool, 211.
Lodge, John, 25, 39–41.
Lodge, Sir Richard, 2–3.
Lojo (Finland), 98.

Lombardy, 6.
London, 73–4, 161–2, 164, 175, 179, 190, 192, 199, 200–3, 214.
Lönnrot, Elias, 90 *n.*
Lopez, Narciso, 149–51, 153–4, 156, 172.
Louis VII, King of France, 61.
Louis XII, King of France, 4.
Louis Napoleon, president of France, 153–8, 160.
Lovisa (Finland), 87.
Loyd, L. C., 78.
Lubeck, 84, 87, 102–3, 114.
Lubolo, Juan, 143–4.
Lucy, Countess of Chester, 53.
Luther, Martin, 96.
Lynch, William, 28.

McEnery, M. J., 43.
Machiavelli, and Caesar Borgia, 5; and the *Discorsi*, 7, 9–10; and the republic of Florence, 6–9; dreams of a united Italy of, 7–16; effect of the contemporary history of Europe upon the views of, 3–7, 9; fate of the works of, 15; John Morley's lecture on, 2; motives in writing *Il Principe* of, 2–4, 9–15; problems connected with the teachings of, 1–2; Ranke's views on, 3.
Madrid, 158, 164, 166, 169.
Magni, John, 99.
Magni, Nicholas, 103.
Malmesbury, Lord. *See* Harris, James Howard.
Malmesbury, William of, 57.
Mandeville, Geoffrey de, Earl of Essex, 54, 74–7.
Mandeville, William de, 54.
March, Earl of. *See* Mortimer, Edmund.
Marcy, William Learned, 182.
Martin V, Pope, 5.
Mary, daughter of Stephen, King of England, 53, 62, 67.
Maryland (U.S.A.), 192.
Mason, James M. (senator), 184.
Matanzas (Cuba), 124.
Mathilda, Empress, 54, 59–60, 64, 70, 74–7, 81.
Maud, Queen of England, 64, 70, 73–4, 77.
Maud, Queen of Scotland (wife of David, King of Scotland), 51, 58.
Maximilian I, Emperor, 8.
Meath, 18, 21.
Medici, Cardinal dei, 7.
Medici, Cosimo dei, 6, 16.
Medici, Giovanni dei. *See* Leo X, Pope.
Medici, Giuliano dei, 8–9, 12, 16.
Medici, Lorenzo dei (The Magnificent), 6–7, 9, 12, 16.
Medici, Piero dei, 6, 16.
Medinaceli, Duke de, 138.
Melancthon, 96.
Memoranda Rolls (Ireland), 27, 29, 37–8.
Meones, William de, 43.
Merida (Spain), 123.
Meulan, Agnes, Countess of, 63.
Meulan, Hugh de (Hugh the Poor), Earl of Bedford, 55, 77–82.
Meulan, Isabel, Countess of, 55, 78.
Meulan, Robert, Count of, Lord of Beaumont, and Earl of Leicester, 55–7, 59, 66–7, 72–5, 77–8.
Meulan, Robert (the younger), Count of and Earl of Leicester, 57, 59, 67.
Meulan, Waleran, Count of, 51–3, 55–60, 62–74, 81.
Mexico, 122, 133, 139, 141.
Milan, Duchy of, 4–5, 7.
Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford, 77.
Millin de Grandmaison, M., 62, 66.
Mills, James, 41, 44.
Miraflores, Marquis of, 152, 155, 160, 164, 169, 171, 181.
Mississippi, the (river), 174.
Mitford, John Freeman, Lord Redesdale, 26.
Mohun, William de, Earl of Somerset, 60, 80.
Montfort, Hugh de, 53.
Montijo, Eugénie de, 155.
Mora, Captain de la, 145.
Morales, don Pedro de, 140–3, 145–6.
Morant (Jamaica), 122, 127.
Morin du Pin, 80.
Morley, John, 2.
Morrin, Mr., 29, 41.
Morrissey, Mr., 35.
Mortain, Robert, Count of, 56–7.
Mortain, William Werlenc, Count of, and Earl of Kent, 54, 56–7.
Mortimer, Edmund, Earl of March, 21.
Munster, 21–2.

Nadendal (Finland), 85.
Naples, kingdom of, 4–5, 8.

Napoleon I, Emperor, 15, 158.
Narvaez, Ramon Maria, Duke of Valencia, 155.
Navigation Acts, The, 191, 198.
Neufmarché-en-Lions, 53.
Neva (river), 87.
New Orleans (U.S.A.), 149, 153, 155–6, 172.
Nilsson, Anders, 93 *n.*
Nombre de Dios (Jamaica), 137.
Norfolk, Earl of. *See* Bigod, Hugh.
Normandy, 53, 61, 75; Duke of, *see* Richard; Marquis of, *see* Phipps, Constantine Henry.
Northallerton Moor, battle of, 72.
Northampton, Earl of. *See* David, King of Scots, Henry of Scotland, Senlis, Simon de.
Northampton, Earldom of, 51, 58.
Northumberland, Waltheof, Earl of, 51, 58.
Norton, J. Chapple, 213.
Novgorod (Russia), 86–7.
Nyland (Finland), 90 *n.*
Nyslott (Finland), 86, 105.
Nystad, place of, 115.

Ogilvie, William, 210–3.
Oglethorpe, Mr., 210.
Olai, Erik, 97–8.
Oldfield, Thomas Hinton Burley, 206.
Olsson, Henrik, 106.
Ordericus, Vilalis, 57, 78, 80.
Originalia Rolls (Ireland), 38.
Oristan (Jamaica), 134.
Ormond, Earl of. *See* Butler, James.
Ormonde, 18.
Orrery, Earl of. *See* Boyle, Roger.
Ovars, Henrik, 103.
Oxford, Earl of. *See* Vere, Aubrey de.
Oxford, Bishop of. *See* Stubbs.

Palmerston, Lord. *See* Temple, Henry John.
Papacy, the, 4–6, 8, 14–5.
Papal States, the, 3, 5, 6–8.
Paris, 63, 66, 83, 95, 159, 162, 172; parliament of, 4.
Paris, Matthew, 57.
Parliament Rolls (Ireland), 25.
Patent Rolls (Ireland), 27–9, 37, 39, 40–2.
Pavon, Captain, 129.
Peckwell, Robert Henry, 205, 214.
Pembroke, Earl of. *See* Clare, Gilbert de.
Perna (Finland), 91–2, 96.
Perry, Commodore, 173.
Peru, 139.
Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, 115.
Petrarch, 14.
Petrucci, Pandolfo, 9.
Petterson, Olov, 84 *n.*
Petty, Sir William, 47.
Philip IV, King of Spain, 120–2, 125, 127, 137–8, 142–3, 146
Phipps, Constantine Henry, Marquis of Normandy, 161.
Pidal, Senor, 150–1, 160.
Pierce, Franklin, 172, 176, 179, 182–3.
Pipe Rolls (Ireland), 27, 29, 31, 43–4.
Pisa, siege of, 7.
Pitt, Lady Harriet, 207.
Pitt, William (the younger), 205, 207, 209, 218, 222, 224, 226.
Pius XI, Pope, 15.
Plague, the Great, 190.
Planché, James Robinson, 78.
Plea Rolls (Ireland), 27, 31, 37.
Pontaudemer, Thorold de, 53.
Ponte, Henry de, 18.
Pontus de la Gardie, 98, 108.
Poole (Yorkshire), 200.
Popes. *See* Alexander VI, Caesar Borgia, Julius II, Leo X, Martin V, Pius XI. *See* Papal States.
Port Eliot (Cornwall), 216.
Porthanus, John, 110.
Porto Rico (West Indies), 121, 123, 125, 127.
Potthusen, Henry, 109.
Prague, 83, 95.
President of the U.S., America. *See* Fillmore, Millard.
Prince, The. *See Il Principe.*
Prince of Wales. *See* George.
Prior, Matthew, 200.
Privy Council (Ireland), records of the, 25, 45.
Proenza, Christobal Ysassi Y., 134–5.
Proenza, Francisco de, 118–9, 121, 132.
Public Records, the (Ireland) Act of 1867, dealing with, 31–2; appointment of a deputy-keeper of, 30–1; carelessness of custodians of, 46; custody of municipal, 48; division of, 18; effects of the explosion of 28th June, 1922, upon, 37–9; housing of, 18–23, 25, 28–30, 46–8; importance of, 17, 39–42, 44, 49; loss of, 21–2, 25–6, 31–2, 45; salary of the keeper of, 24.

Public Record Office, the (Ireland), description of, 33–4; destruction of documents housed in, 28, 31–3, 33–7; effects of the explosion of 28th June, 1922, upon, 35–7; entry of the irregular forces in (1922), 33–4, 46; establishment of, 28, 30; records not housed in, 45–7; re-establishment of, 48.
Public Record Office (London), 47–8.
Puerto de Santa Maria, 138–9.
Pynnar, Nicholas, *Survey* by, 44.

Ralf de Gael, 75.
Ralf the Chancellor, 73–4.
Ramirez de Orellano, Juan, 118, 121.
Ranke, Leopold von, 3.
Raumo (Finland), 85, 91.
Rautia, Peter Thomas, 104.
Rawlings, Thomas, 220.
Reading, Abbey of, 69.
Redesdale, Lord. *See* Mitford, John Freeman.
Reformation, the, 15.
Renault de Gerponville, 67.
Reval (Esthonia), 87–8.
Reyes, Juan de los, 125–31, 133, 140.
Ribe (Jutland), 83.
Richard I, Duke of Normandy, 53.
Richard I, King of England, 52.
Rio Cayaus (Jamaica), 137.
Rio Nuevo (Jamaica), 132, 135–7, 141–2.
Ripley, Thomas, 202.
Rives, William Cabell, 154.
Robert the Dispenser, 71.
Robinson, John, 206–7.
Rolls. *See* Close, Communia, Deed, Hearth, Justiciary, Memoranda, Money, Originalia, Parliament, Patent, Pipe, Plea, Statute.
Rolls Office (Dublin), 25.
Romagna, the, 5.
Rome, 5, 96.
Rostock (Sweden), 84, 87, 95, 103, 114.
Roumare, William de, Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Earl of Lincoln, 52 *n.*, 53–4.
Round, J. H., 56, 59, 64, 72, 77, 79.
Royal Irish Academy (Dublin), 46.
Russell, Lord John, 161, 179, 180–1.
Russia, Czar of, *see* Peter the Great; Relations of, with Sweden, 115.
Ruuth, Theodore Peter, 90 *n.*
Rymer, Thomas, *Federa*, 38.

Saint Ann's (Jamaica), 119, 124, 126, 130.
St. Colman, 44.
St. Dunstan's-in-the-East (London), Church of, 202.
St. Germans (Cornwall), 206.
St. James of Compostella, 65.
St. Mary's Abbey (Dublin), 19.
St. Nicaise de Meulan, 62.
St. Wandrille, 66.
Salinas, Francisco de, 124.
Sanders, George N., 166.
Sandwich Islands, 171.
Santa Cruz, 134.
Santiago de Cuba (Cuba), 121, 123–8, 131, 133–5, 137, 140–1, 143, 145–6.
Santiago de la Vega (Jamaica), 122.
Santo Domingo, 122–3.
Sartiges, Comte de, 157, 163–78, 181–2, 184.
Savonarola, 6, 8.
Scarborough, 60.
Schism, the Great, 5.
Scotland, and the Customs Revenue, 191, 199–200; invasion of England by (1138), 51–3, 58, 72–3, 81; troops sent to Jamaica by, 122.
Scotland, King of. *See* Huntingdon.
Scotland, Queen of. *See* Maud.
Sedgwicke, Major-General Robert, 120, 122.
Seine, the (river), 175.
Senlis, Simon de (the elder), Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, 51, 58, 81–2.
Senlis, Simon de (the younger), Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, 58, 74, 81–2.
Settlement, Act of (Ireland), 25, 27
Seville, 122.
Sforza, Francesco, 11.
Sforza, the, 7.
Sheppey, isle of, 198.
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 210, 215–8, 222–4, 226–7.
Sheridan, Thomas, 210–3, 218, 220–3 225–7.
Sidney, Sir Henry, 20, 42.
Silva, Captain de, 133.
Simon, Bishop of Worcester, 63–4.
Simonssons, Henry, 103.
Sinn Feiners, 34.
Skytte, John, 108.
Somerset, Earl of. *See* Mohun, William de.
Somerset, Earldom of, 60, 80.

Soniensaari, island (Finland), 96–7.
Spain, and the Holy League, 7; attempt to recover Jamaica made by, 117–22, 137–40, 143, 146–7; fears concerning America's designs upon Cuba shown by, 149, 172; help given to Louis Napoleon by, 155–6; negotiations *re* an Anglo-Franco-American treaty with regard to the sovereignty over Cuba of, 150–85; relations between Italy and, 6, 8, 15; state of (1513), 3–5, 13.
Spain, Kings of. *See* Charles V, Philip IV.
Spain, Queen of. *See* Isabella II.
Standard, battle of the, 52–3.
Stanhope, Philip Henry, Earl of, 29.
Stanley, Edward Geoffrey, Earl of Derby, 161, 179.
Statute Rolls (Ireland), 27, 41–2.
Stearns, Foster, 179–80.
Stephen, King of England, creation of earldoms by, 51–82; earldoms existing at the accession of, 51.
Stephen II, Count of Champagne, 52.
Stevens, Major-General, 132.
Stockholm, 85–6, 92, 97.
Stokes, Luke, 122.
Strafford, Earl of. *See* Wentworth, Thomas.
Stubbs, William, Bishop of Oxford, 56, 60, 72, 77.
Surrey, Earl of. *See* Warenne, William de.
Surrey, earldom of, 51, 60, 74.
Sussex, Earl of. *See* d'Aubigny, William.
Sussex, Earldom of, 60, 68.
Sweden, education in, 107 *n.*; influence of the Reformation upon, 84; introduction of Christianity into, 83; method of maintaining the schools in, 91.
Sweden, King of. *See* Charles XII, Erik IV, Gustavus Adolphus, Gustavus Vasa, John III.
Sweden, Queen of. *See* Christina.
Swift, Dean, 24.
Switzerland, relations between Italy and (1513), 5.
Sygyn, William, 40.

Tello, Gerónimo, 118.
Temple, Henry John, Viscount Palmerston, 150–3, 155–8, 161, 185.
Teschecs, John, 110.
Texas (U.S.A.), 169.
Thames, the (river), 175, 180.
Theobald III, Count of Blois, 52.
Tipperary, 21–2, 32.
Tobar, Juan de, 140, 143–4.
Tolin, Matthias Jacobus, 90 *n.*
Toljas, Jacob, 103.
Tönesson, Arffued, 102–3.
Torigny, Robert de, 59.
Trafalgar, battle of, 198.
Trim, Ireland, 21.
Trolle, Gustav Ericson, Archbishop of Upsala, 83.
Turgot, Marquis de, 155, 158–65, 168–72, 175.
Tyson, Colonel, 143–5.

Ulfsby (Finland), 91.
Ulster, 17, 21, 27.
Union, (Scotland) Act of (1707), 191, 199; (Ireland) Act of (1800), 201.
United States of America. *See* America, North.
Upsala, 95, 104; university of, 84.

Valdegamus, Marquis de, 153, 160, 161–2, 171.
Vardesi, Lucas Borrero, 125.
Venice, 4–6.
Vera Cruz, 123–4, 133–5, 137.
Vere, Aubrey de (II), 70, 81.
Vere, Aubrey de (III), Count of Guisnes, 70, 76.
Vermandois, Count of. *See* Hugh the Great.
Viborg (Finland), conquest by Russia of, 115; description of, 86–8; education in (*temp.* Reformation), 85–6, 88; educational zeal in, 88–90, 96, 104; instruction given in schools at, 95; gymnasium established at, 108; interest of the Crown in education at, 97–9, 101–2, 105–7; introduction of a printing-press in, 114; relations between the school and town in, 111–3.
Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, 16.
Villa Rubia, Marquis de, 137–8.
Villanueva, Don Pedro de Bayona, 124–7, 131–2, 134–5, 140.
Villari, Madame, 14 *n.*
Villiers, George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon, 181.
Virginia (U.S.A.), 192.
Visby (Sweden), 87.

Walewski, Alexandre Florian Joseph Colonna, Comte, 153, 158–62, 170–1, 178, 181.
Walpole, Horace, 200.
Walpole, Robert, 195–6.
Warehousing Act (1803), 201.
Warenne, William de, Earl of Surrey, 78.
Wark Castle (Northumberland), 53.
Warwick, Earldom of, 68.
Warwick, Roger, Earl of, 51, 81.
Washington, 150, 160, 163, 165, 181–2.
Waterford, 43, 48.
Webb, Mr., 219–20.
Webster, Daniel, 152, 157, 164–70, 172, 176–7, 184–5.
Wellesley, Henry Richard Charles, Earl Cowley, 161, 164, 170.
Wentworth, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, 22.
West Indies, 151.
Wexford, 18.
Wharton, Thomas, Marquis of, 23.
Wilberforce, William, 207.
Wilkinson, Sir Nevile R., 46.
William I, King of England, 53, 56.
William III, King of England, 194, 198.
Winchcombe, 64.
Winchester, 73.
Wittenberg (Germany), 95.
Worcester, Bishop of. *See* Simon.
Worcester, Castle of, 60, 67, 70; city of, 61–2, 65, 67; earldom of, 55–72.
Wren, Sir Christopher, 190–2, 202.

Yarmouth, 197.
York, Earl of. *See* d'Aumale, William.
York, Earldom of, 52, 60.
York, Richard, Duke of, 21.
Youghal (Ireland), 43.
Yprès, William de, 74.
Ysassi, Francisco Leiva, 131.
Ysassi Arnaldo, Blas, 121.
Ysassi Arnaldo, Christobal, 117–9, 120–31, 133–7, 140–1, 143–7.

Zapata, Pedro, 119.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. SESSION 1928–1929

The Council of the Royal Historical Society have the honour of presenting their Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows, as follows :—

The Council with great regret have to announce the deaths of twenty-three Fellows, including the following late Office Holders in the Society.

Sir Geoffrey Butler, K.B.E., M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. M.P. for the University. Elected 1912. Council, 1923–25.

R. C. Fowler, O.B.E., of the Public Record Office. Elected 1913. Council, 1922–24.

His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet, D.D., elected 1899. Council, 1901–2. Vice-President, 1903. Hon. Vice-President, 1917.

Mrs. J. R. Green, Litt.D., elected 1901. Hon. Vice-President, February–May, 1929.

Mrs. S. C. Lomas, elected 1906. Council, 1923–25.

G. W. T. Omond, M.A., elected 1917. Council, 1919–21. Vice-President, 1921–23.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Rosebery and Midlothian, K.T., K.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., F.B.A., elected 1872. Vice-President, 1872. Hon. Vice-President, 1902.

Professor T. F. Tout, LL.D., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A., elected 1891. Council, 1893–1900. Hon. Vice-President, 1915. President, 1925–29. Vice-President, 1929.

The Rooms of the Society have been used for Meetings by The British Archæological Association, the Canterbury and York Society, the Central London Branch of the Historical Association, the Huguenot Society, the Japan Society, the Jersey Society, the Lingard Society, and the Royal Numismatic Society.

On Thursday, July 7, the Society gave a Garden Party. The courtesy of the Commissioners threw open the Square Gardens to the guests of the Society, but heavy rain in the morning made them not very attractive for sitting in. Indoors a Collection of historical prints, kindly supplied by Captain H. Parker, F.R.Hist.S., proved very attractive. The Society's manuscripts were also on exhibition.

The proposed International Congress on the History of Spain, held at Barcelona in November, 1929, should have been attended by two representatives of the Society. Mr. Kirkpatrick and Sir Charles Petrie, Bt., were kind enough to allow themselves to be nominated as our representatives, but a change of date prevented either from attending.

Mr. C. Graham Botha, M.A., of the Archives Department, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, a Corresponding Member of our Society, acted as our Representative at the Celebration of the Centenary of the South African College, Cape Town.

An International Congress of Libraries was held at Rome, June 13, 1929. Dr. Hubert Hall was nominated as the Society's Representative.

The Society received a letter asking for their co-operation with the Committee of the House of Commons which is collecting materials for detailed notices of all Members from the thirteenth century. The contents of the letter were circulated among the Fellows in the hope that they might be able to find local records in their several counties.

By the will of the late David Anderson-Berry the sum of £1,000 is to be placed, in Trust, in the hands of the Society, for founding a prize for an Essay on certain parts of Scottish History. The details of the scheme are still under consideration, but it is hoped that shortly the Society will be able to offer, every three years, a very substantial prize to students of the History of Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Library was enlarged by several generous gifts, among which Mr. Chance's continued presentations and

those of Mr. C. E. Lawrence (joint-editor of the *Quarterly Review*) may be specially mentioned. The Council desire to return their sincere thanks to the various donors. The exchanges were continued as usual. The exchange with the *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes* was resumed, and fresh exchanges were arranged with the Antiquarian Society of Zürich, and L'Administration Générale des Archives de l'Etat de la République Polonaise, Warsaw.

At the Annual General Meeting held on February 14, 1929, Sir Richard Lodge, LL.D., Litt.D., was elected President of the Society, on the retirement of Professor Tout, who had completed four years of office.

Mrs. J. R. Green and Mr. R. A. Roberts were elected Honorary Vice-Presidents.

The Vice-Presidents retiring under By-law XVII were Mr. J. F. Chance, M.A., and Sir Richard Lodge, LL.D., Litt.D.

Professor Tout, LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., and the Rev. Professor J. P. Whitney, D.D., were elected Vice-Presidents.

Mr. Chance was subsequently co-opted upon the Publications Committee.

The Members of Council retiring under By-law XVII were Miss Churchill, Professor Newton, D.Litt., F.S.A., Professor Skeel, D.Litt., Professor Stenton, M.A., F.B.A. Professor Basil Williams, M.A., retired of his own motion as being unable to attend meetings.

Professor Stenton was co-opted a member of the Publications Committee.

The following were elected Members of Council to fill the vacancies: Lt.-Col. John Buchan, M.P., M.A., LL.D.; Professor Geoffrey Callender, M.A., F.S.A.; Miss Mary Coate, M.A.; the Rev. Canon C. W. Foster, M.A., F.S.A.; H. W. V. Temperley, O.B.E., Litt.D., F.B.A.; Professor G. S. Veitch, M.A., Litt.D.

W. Page, F.S.A., who had served as Auditor for the Fellows since 1917, resigned. P. W. Chandler, F.S.A., and

W. G. Perrin, O.B.E., were elected Auditors for the Fellows, and J. F. Chance, M.A., for the Council.

It was proposed by the newly elected President, Sir Richard Lodge, and seconded by Mr. Johnson, the Hon. Treasurer, to amend By-law XI, which now reads as follows :

" Any Fellow of the Society failing to pay the subscription due for the current year on or before June 1 shall be applied to in writing by the Secretary ; and if the same be not paid on or before the 21st December following, the Council shall be empowered to remove his name from the Roll, as from the first of April next ensuing, but such Fellows shall continue liable to the Society for the arrears of their subscriptions."

The following Papers were read in the course of the Session of 1928–1929 :—

" The Imprisonment of the Earl of Danby in the Tower (1679–1684)." From Papers at Hornby Castle. By Miss A. M. Evans, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (November 8, 1928.)

" Sir Walter Raleigh in Guiana (1595)." By V. T. Harlow, M.A., B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S. (December 13, 1928.)

" The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into the Justices of the Peace (1327–1380)." By Professor Bertha Haven Putnam, Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S. (January 10, 1929.)

" The Relations of William III with the Swiss Protestants (1689–1697)." By L. A. Robertson, M.A., B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S. (March 14, 1929.)

" The System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward II." By J. H. Johnson, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (April 11, 1929.)

" The Administration of the Diocese of Ely during the vacancies of the See in 1298–9 and 1302–3." By Miss Rose Graham, D.Litt., F.S.A., V.P.R.Hist.S. (May 9, 1929.)

The President, the late Professor T. F. Tout, D.Litt., Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., delivered an Address at the Anniversary Meeting on February 14, 1929, on " History and Historians in America."

The Alexander Medal was awarded to Professor F. S. Rodkey, A.M., Ph.D., of the University of Illinois, U.S.A., for an Essay entitled " Lord Palmerston's Policy for the Re-juvenation of Turkey, 1839–41." The Essay submitted by Miss Lucy Stuart Sutherland, B.A., Fellow and Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford, on " The Political

Apprenticeship of Edmund Burke," was highly commended by the Examiners.

The above Papers have been printed in *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Vol. XIII, with the exception of the second (a communication which the author intends to revise and amplify when his new and exacting official duties permit). Professor Putnam's important paper was read for her before her return to this country from America, and is to be regarded as the framework on which a further extensive study of the subject will be constructed. It will have been seen that the Card of the present Session includes two Papers which could not be read during the previous Session. In addition to those for which dates and titles have been settled papers by Professor Sir Charles Oman and Professor J. H. Clapham have been promised.

In addition to the current volume (Fourth Series, Vol. XII) of *Transactions*, the following Volumes of the Camden Third Series have been issued since the last Report of the Council: Vol. XLI. Camden Miscellany Vol. XV, containing six separate editions of original texts edited by different contributors. Vol. XLII. Notes of Debates in the House of Lords 1621–1628. Edited by Professor Frances H. Relf, of Wells College, N.Y., a Volume which supplements (as explained in the Editor's Paper printed in *Transactions*, 4th Ser., Vol. VIII, 1925) the late Dr. S. R. Gardiner's edition of Elsing's *Notes*, printed in Camden O.S. Vol. 103 (1870), and Camden N.S. Vol. 24 (1879). The completion of this valuable series of historical texts by international co-operation, after an interval of 50 years, must be a source of general satisfaction to the Society at large.

In addition to the concluding volumes (vols. 3 and 4) of John of Gaunt's Register (see Camden, 3rd Ser., Vols. XX and XXI) and further instalments of the Series of British Diplomatic Instructions (1689–1789), among other publications sanctioned by the Council, the following volumes are in immediate preparation and will be issued,

if possible, in 1930: *The General Chapters of the English Black Monks* (Vol. I), edited by W. A. Pantin, B.A., and British Diplomatic Instructions, France, Vol. III (1727–1743), edited by L. G. Wickham Legg. Other publications in immediate preparation will be *A List of British Diplomatic Agents* (1648–1789), compiled by D. B. Horn, D.Litt., and an edition of the interesting and hitherto unpublished private correspondence between Lord Chesterfield and the Duke of Newcastle between 1744 and 1746, edited by Sir Richard Lodge. The Council hope that these volumes may be issued before long, but they have to observe that as the cost of the publications since the War shows no signs of decreasing, the large sum appropriated for this purpose cannot be indefinitely increased.

The Secretary reports that by death the Society has lost 23 Fellows, by resignation 10, and 4 names have been removed from the roll for non-payment of subscriptions. Two Libraries have resigned Membership. Fifty Fellows have been elected and 16 Libraries admitted. One Fellow has been reinstated. Total net gain, 14 Fellows and 14 Libraries.

The Secretary reports that the total membership of the Society on October 31, 1929, was 805 Fellows, including Ordinary, Life, Honorary and Corresponding Fellows. There were 272 subscribing Libraries. Of the Fellows, 5 were Honorary, 20 were Corresponding Members, and 147 were Life Fellows. There are 67 Societies, British and Foreign, which exchange *Transactions* with the Royal Historical Society.

The Treasurer reports that, for the year covered by the accounts, namely for the twelve months to October 31, 1929, the Income exceeds the Expenditure by £115 12*s.* 10*d.*, after taking into account the sum (£480) still due to the printers for the annual volume of the *Transactions* and also a volume of the Camden Series.

The item of Salaries and Wages shows a slight reduction owing to the fact that the heavy work of recataloguing the

books in the library was finished early in the year. The reduction in the amount for Rates and Taxes is for this year only, as a sum of £70 3*s.* 10*d.* was reclaimed from the Crown during the year, being tax on dividends for three years, and this cannot be repeated next year. The sum spent on the upkeep of the house, 22 Russell Square, is low this year, but a considerable amount will have to be met next year for necessary repairs in 1930. It should be observed that the Society had to contribute £15 15*s.* to the British National Committee of the International Congress, and as this may be an annual expense it appears as a separate item.

The increase in the number of members (both Fellows and Institutions) has resulted in an additional £100 received.

The Pension Fund now stands at £286 0*s.* 8*d.*, which includes a further investment in War Stock, together with accrued interest on former investments. The total of the Pension Fund and the accumulated Life Subscriptions is amply covered by the total current value of the Society's securities.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—Income of the Year ending October 31, 1929, and the Charges thereon.

Income.			£ s. d.
Subscriptions received for year 1928		£57 12 0	
Less amount estimated to be received in last year's accounts for subscriptions in arrear		40 0 0	
Subscriptions in arrear, received in excess of estimate			17 12 0
Subscriptions now in arrear estimated to be received			35 0 0
Subscriptions of 1929 :			
„ „	4 at 20s.	4 0 0	
„ „	4 at 21s.	4 4 0	
„ „	267 at 30s.	400 10 0	
„ „	606 at 42s.	1272 12 0	
			1681 6 0
Life subscriptions		60 18 0	
Less proportion required by By-law IX to be invested (see Balance-sheet)		40 12 0	
			20 6 0
Dividends on Investments			134 5 3
Interest on Deposit Account at Bank			27 8 3
Rentals received			270 9 0
			£2186 6 6

Expenditure.			£ s. d.
Publications : Printing, Distributing, Editing and Indexing		£816 11 10	
Less received from Sales		87 1 10	
			729 10 0
Salaries and Wages			747 15 6
Rent of Premises, 22 Russell Square			170 0 0
Coal			18 15 0
Electric Light, Gas, etc.			21 15 11
Rates (Parochial, etc.) and Taxes			103 15 6
General Printing and Stationery			67 10 7
Library : Books, Periodicals, Binding, and Cataloguing			80 12 6
Postages, etc.			31 17 8
Premises, 22 Russell Square : repairs, etc.			27 9 9
Insurance (Fire, National Health, etc.)			10 12 3
Anniversary Dinner : net loss.			5 12 10
Monthly Meetings, including Party (cost of Refreshments)			21 5 5
Alexander Medal			3 5 0
Contribution to British Committee of International Congress			15 15 0
Sundries (Petty Cash payments)			15 0 9
			£2070 13 8
Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ending October 31, 1929, after including the amount owing to Printers for work outstanding and not paid till 1930; carried to Balance-sheet			115 12 10
			£2186 6 6

II.—Balance-sheet of Liabilities and Assets at October 31, 1929.

Liabilities.			£ s. d.
Life subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-law IX): amount brought forward from last Balance-sheet	£2442 4 0		
Proportion of Life subscriptions received in 1929 (see Income and Expenditure Account)	40 12 0		
			2482 16 0
Pension Fund:			
Balance from last year	222 17 8		
Interest received	11 5 0		
Cost of £50 War Stock 5%	51 18 0		
			286 0 8
			2768 16 8
[Represented by Consols, India 3½% Stock, Canada 3½% Stock, War Stock 5%, National Savings Certificates, Conversion Stock 4½%, Conversion Stock 3½% and Cash on Deposit—see *contra.*]			
Subscriptions received in advance			17 14 0
Donation to forthcoming Camden volume			50 0 0
Amount owing to Printers			498 19 7
Balance, being surplus of Assets over Liabilities at date, viz., Amount brought forward from last year	£3444 13 3		
Deduct Pension Fund (as above)	51 18 0		
	3392 15 3		
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure, as per Account I	115 12 10		
			3508 8 1
			£6843 18 4

Assets.			£ s. d.
Consols 2½%, £699 9s. 9d. valued at	£314 0 0		
India 3½% Stock, £900 valued at	500 0 0		
Canada 3½% Stock, £300 valued at	200 0 0		
500 National Savings Certificates, at cost	400 0 0		
War Stock 5%, £700 valued at	637 5 8		
Conversion Stock 4½%, £1220 at cost	1177 2 3		
Conversion Stock 3½%, £800 at cost	601 12 2		
			3830 0 1
[The current market value of the above investments is £4182]			
Cash at Bank: Current Account	£141 18 10		
" Deposit "	836 19 2		
Petty Cash Balance in hand	0 0 3		
			978 18 3
Stock of Publications at Russell Square (value as insured)			100 0 0
Stock of Publications with Printer (value as insured)			500 0 0
Library (value as insured)			1000 0 0
" Manuscripts (value as insured)			100 0 0
Furniture, etc. " "			300 0 0
Subscriptions in arrear estimated to be received (see Income and Expenditure Account)			35 0 0
			£6843 18 4

(*Signed*) Charles Johnson, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Auditors' Report.

The above Statement of Income and Expenditure and Balance-sheet have been prepared from the Books and Vouchers, and we hereby certify the same to be correct, and to exhibit a true statement of the Society's financial position.

(*Signed*) J. F. Chance,
Pretor W. Chandler,
W. G. Perrin,
} *Auditors.*

December 18th, 1929.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL—1929–30.

Patron.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

President.

SIR RICHARD LODGE, LL.D., Litt.D.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

PROFESSOR C. R. BEAZLEY, J.P., D.Litt.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD ERNLE, M.A., M.V.O.
THE RIGHT HON. H. A. L. FISHER, F.R.S., LL.D., F.B.A.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD FITZMAURICE, F.B.A., M.A.
THE HON. SIR J. W. FORTESCUE, LL.D., D.Litt.
THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF GLOUCESTER, D.D., Litt.D., F.S.A.
MRS. J. R. GREEN, Litt.D. (Elected 14 Feb. 1929 and decd. 28 May 1929).
REV. W. HUNT, D.Litt.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ILCHESTER.
PROFESSOR SIR C. W. C. OMAN, M.P., LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.
PROFESSOR A. F. POLLARD, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, BT., K.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.B.A.
R. L. POOLE, LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A.
R. A. ROBERTS.
PROFESSOR G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M., M.A., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

J. F. CHANCE, M.A.
PROFESSOR SIR C. H. FIRTH, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A.
G. P. GOOCH, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.
C. JOHNSON, M.A., F.S.A.
A. G. LITTLE, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.
MISS E. C. LODGE, M.A., D.Litt.
A. E. STAMP, M.A.
PROFESSOR F. M. STENTON, M.A., F.B.A.
REV. PROFESSOR J. P. WHITNEY, D.D.

Council.

C. W. Previté-Orton, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.
V. H. Galbraith, M.A.
Professor J. E. Neale, M.A.
Professor Lillian Penson, M.A., Ph.D.
W. G. Perrin, O.B.E.
F. J. E. Raby, M.A., F.S.A.
Lieut.-Colonel John Buchan, M.P., M.A., LL.D.
Professor G. A. R. Callender, M.A., F.S.A.
Miss Mary Coate, M.A.
Rev. Canon C. W. Foster, M.A., F.S.A.
Professor H. W. V. Temperley, O.B.E., Litt.D., F.B.A.
Professor G. S. Veitch, M.A., Litt.D.
Miss I. J. Churchill.
Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D.
Professor Elizabeth Levett, M.A.
Professor J. D. Mackie, M.A.
H. G. Richardson, M.A., B.Sc.
Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, D.Litt., F.S.A., F.B.A.

Honorary Secretary.

H. E. Malden, M.A.

Director.

Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A.

Honorary Treasurer.

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D.

Hon. Solicitor.

Sir T. Cato Worsfold, Bt., M.A., LL.D., D.L., 9 Staple Inn, W.C.

Auditors.

W. T. J. Gun, B.A. J. F. Chance, M.A.
P. W. Chandler, F.S.A.

Assistant Secretary and Librarian.

Miss M. B. Curran, M.A.

Library and Offices.

22 Russell Square, W.C.1.

Bankers.

Barclays Limited, 148 Holborn, E.C.1.

STANDING COMMITTEES—1929–30.

Publication Committee.

Professor G. A. R. Callender, M.A., F.S.A.
J. F. Chance, M.A.
Miss I. J. Churchill.
V. H. Galbraith, M.A.
Miss Rose Graham, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A.
Professor Elizabeth Levett, M.A.
Miss E. C. Lodge, M.A., D.Litt.
A. G. Little, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.
Professor J. E. Neale, M.A.
Professor Lillian Penson, M.A., Ph.D.
W. G. Perrin, O.B.E.
C. W. Previté-Orton, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.
F. J. E. Raby, M.A., F.S.A.
H. G. Richardson, M.A., B.Sc.
Professor F. M. Stenton, M.A., F.B.A.
Professor H. W. V. Temperley, O.B.E., Litt.D., F.B.A.
Sir Richard Lodge, LL.D., Litt.D., *President.*
Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director.*
Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D., *Hon. Treasurer.*
H. E. Malden, M.A., *Hon. Secretary.*

The Members of the Publication Committee are also Members of the Finance and Library Committees.

LIST OF FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Names of Officers and Members of Council are printed in SMALL CAPITALS.
*Those marked * have compounded for their Annual Subscriptions.*

* Abbot, Rev. H. A., M.A., L.C.P., Palmers School, Grays, Essex.
Adler, E. N., 20 Porchester Square, W.2.
Ady, Miss C. M., M.A., 40 St. Margaret's Road, Oxford.
Ahmad, Mohammad Basheer, M.A., I.C.S., Moradabad, U.P., India.
Ainley, Rev. B. S., B.A., Norwell Vicarage, Newark-on-Trent.
Aiyangar, Professor S. K., M.A., Ph.D., 143 Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras, India.
Alexander, J. J., M.A., J.P., Upton, St. Mary's Hill, Paignton, Devon.
Alington, Rev. C. A., D.D., The Cloisters, Eton College, Windsor.
Almkvist, Professor Johan, Nybrogatan 7, Stockholm, Sweden.
Ambruzzi, Rev. A., S.J., M.A., St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore, India.
Anderson, A. K., M.A., St. Andrew's College, Papanui Road, Christchurch, New Zealand.
Anderson, A. O., M.A., 24 Bruce Road, Dundee, N.B.
Anderson, Professor F. M., M.A., Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
* Anderson, R. C., M.A., Bassett Holt, Southampton.
Andrews, F. B., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 29 Greenhill Road, Moseley, Birmingham.
Andrews, Rev. P. J., 13 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
* Anscombe, A., 30 Albany Road, N.4.
Appleton, Professor H. W., M.A., Fairfield, Sheffield.
Arkle, A. H., J.P., O.B.E., Elmhurst, Oxton, Birkenhead.
Arundale, The Right Rev. G. S., M.A., LL.B., D.L., 10 Buckingham Street, S.W.1.
Ashdown, Mrs. Charles H., Rexholme, St. Albans, Herts.
Atkinson, C. T., M.A., Exeter College, Oxford.
Attlee, Rev. B. H. B., D.D., Chieveley Vicarage, Newbury.
* Auden, Miss Henrietta M., Alderdene, Church Stretton, Salop.
Ault, Professor W. O., M.A., Ph.D., Boston University, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

Babcock, Professor Earle B., Ph.D., Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale, 173 Bd. Saint-Germain, Paris, VI^e^, France.
Baigent, R. C., 57 Sarsfield Road, S.W.12.
Baker, A. E., F.L.A., Public Library, Taunton.
Baker, Lieut.-Colonel B. G., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., St. Mary's Road, Beccles, Suffolk.
Baldwin, Professor J. F., Ph.D., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., U.S.A.
Bales, P. G., M.C., B.A., The Grammar School, Doncaster.

Balfour-Melville, E. W. M., M.A., 2 South Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
Banks, Mrs. M. M., 16 Hornton Court, Hornton Street, W.8.
Bannister, Rev. Canon A. T., M.A., The Close, Hereford.
Barnard, E. A. B., F.S.A., 26 Warkworth Street, Cambridge.
Barnes, Professor D. G., M.A., Ph.D., University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
Barnouw, Professor A. J., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.
* Bartolo, Augusto, LL.D., B.Litt., 55 Strada Teatro, Valletta, Malta.
Barton, The Hon. Sir Dunbar P., K.C., 2 Gray's Inn Square, W.C.1.
Baskerville, G., M.A., Crowsley Park, Henley-on-Thames.
Basye, Professor Arthur H., Ph.D., Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
Bate, G. E., 55 Harvard Road, Spring Grove, Isleworth, Middlesex.
Bayley, A. R., B.A., Colford, Graham Road, Great Malvern.
Beale, O. C., Hopefield, Burwood, Sydney, Australia.
Beazley, Professor Charles Raymond, J.P., D.Litt., The University, Edmund Street, Birmingham.
Beck, Hon. James M., LL.D., Southern Building, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Beer, E. S. de, M.A., Ballinrobe, Norham Gardens, Oxford.
* Beet, Rev. W. E., M.A., D.Litt., Trevone, Moyle Gardens, Hythe, Kent.
Begley, W. W., 30 Rylandes Road, Croham Heights, Selsdon, Surrey.
Bell, Professor Herbert C., Ph.D., 22 Wyllys Street, Middletown, Conn., U.S.A.
Bellamy, C. H., F.R.G.S., 6, Navarino Road, Worthing.
Bellot, H. H., M.A., The University, Manchester.
Bemis, Professor S. F., A.M., Ph.D., 3312 Cathedral Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Benham, W. G., F.S.A., 9 Lexden Road, Colchester.
Bentliff, E. D., M.A., 34 Princes Avenue, Great Crosby, nr. Liverpool.
Benton, Professor E. J., Ph.D., Graduate School, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.
Bickmore, H. C., M.A., 44 Edwardes Square, W.8.
Bieber, Professor R. P., Ph.D., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
Biggar, H. P., LL.D., D.Litt., c/o Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
Billingham, P. H., B.A., B.Litt., Ardenoak, Solihull, Warwickshire.
* Binns, Rev. L. Elliott, M.A., D.D., Springwell House, Saffron Walden.
Birch, F. L., M.A., 11 Montpelier Row, S.W.7.
Black, Professor J. B., M.A., The University, Aberdeen.
Blake, A. H., M.A., Authors' Club, 2 Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
* Blakey, Professor R. G., Ph.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
Block, Sir Adam S. J., K.C.M.G., The White Cottage, Goring-on-Thames, Oxon.
* Blomfield, Sir Reginald, R.A., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., 51 Frognal, N.W.3.
Boak, Professor E. R., Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
Bolam, Rev. Canon C. E., Greatford Rectory, Stamford.

Bond, B. W., Ph.D., University of Cincinnati, McMicken Hall, Cincinnati, U.S.A.
Bourdillon, Miss A. F. C., M.A., 18 Richmond Terrace, Clifton, Bristol.
Bourne, Professor H. E., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.
* Boyce, The Ven. Archdeacon F. B., D.D., St. Paul's Vicarage, Sydney, Australia.
Boyd, Allen R., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Brabant, Rev. F. H., M.A., Wadham College, Oxford.
Bracey, Very Rev. R., Prior, Dominican Priory, Woodchester, Glos.
Bradyll-Johnson, Rev. L., M.A., D.D., St. Clement's Rectory, Oxford.
Brebner, Professor J. B., M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.
* Bremner, A., Airlie Lodge, Berrylands Road, Surbiton.
Brendon, J. A., B.A., 3 Dry Hill Road, Tonbridge, Kent.
Bridge, J. S. C., Turville Park, Henley-on-Thames.
* Brocklebank, Mrs. T., 38 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.7.
Brooke, Z. N., M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
Broome, Miss D. M., Ph.D., 37 Ashburn Road, Stockport.
Brown, A. E., B.A., LL.B., Cotton College, Glanhate, Assam, India.
Brown, B. Goulding, M.A., 16 Brookside, Cambridge.
Brown, G. C., M.A., Worcester College for the Blind, Worcester.
Brown, W. E., M.A., B.Sc., Collegio Scozzese, Via delle Quattro Fontane, Rome, 5, Italy.
Browning, Andrew, M.A., 4 Clayton Terrace, Dennistoun, Glasgow.
Bruce, Professor H., M.A., University College, New Buildings, Cathays Park, Cardiff.
Buchan, Lieut.-Colonel John, M.P., M.A., LL.D., Elsfield Manor, Oxford.
Buckland, C. S. B., M.A., B.Litt., 3 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
Buckland, W. W., LL.D., F.B.A., 9 Grange Road, Cambridge.
Buckler, Professor F. W., M.A., The Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.
Buick, T. L., J.P., United Press Association, Wellington, New Zealand.
Bullock, Captain Humphry, Headquarters, Eastern Command, Naini-Tal, U.P., India.
Burd, L. A., M.A., Repton School, near Burton-on-Trent.
Burghclere, Lady, 30 Green Street, W.1.
* Busher, Rev. T. Story, D.D., M.A., The Rectory, Charlton-on-Otmoor, Oxford.
Bushnell, G. H., M.R.A.S., F.S.P., University Library, St. Andrew's, Fife, N.B.
Butchers, A. G., M.A., LL.B., 109 Gala Street, Invercargill, New Zealand.
Butler, H. B., C.B., M.A., International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland.
Butler, H. M., M.A., Plover Hill House, Hexham, Northumberland.
Butler, J. R. M., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.

* Callender, Professor Geoffrey, M.A., F.S.A., Royal Naval College, Greenwich, S.E.10.
Calthrop, Miss M. M. C., 26 Maitland Park Road, N.W.3.
* Cam, Miss H. M., M.A., Girton College, Cambridge.

Cammaerts, Professor Emile, 35 Albemarle Street, W.1.
Cape, H. J., M.A., B.Sc., Royal Grammar School, Colchester.
Carlyle, Rev. A. J., M.A., D.Litt., University College, Oxford.
* Carlyle, E. I., M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford.
Carrier, Miss E. H., M.A., M.Sc., Avery Hill College, Eltham, S.E.9.
Carruthers, Mrs., 8 Gower Street, W.C.1.
* Carter, Rev. C. S., D.D., Litt.D., B.C.M. & T. College, Clifton, Bristol.
* Cecil, Algernon, M.A., 43 Bryanston Square, W.1.
Chadwyck-Healey, Sir G. E., M.A., 28 Essex Street, Strand, W.C.2.
Chamberlin, Frederick, LL.B., F.S.A., c/o Royal Institution, 21 Albemarle Street, W.1.
Chambers, Miss A. M., Girls' Grammar School, Hitchin.
* CHANCE, J. F., M.A. (*Auditor*), 30 Lennox Gardens, S.W.1.
* Chancellor, E. Beresford, M.A., F.S.A., 11 Regency Mansions, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
CHANDLER, P. W., F.S.A. (*Auditor*), Frognal Dene, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Chandrasekharan, Professor C. V., M.A., Kasi Bhavanam, Trivandrum, Travancore, S. India.
Chapin, H. M., A.B., 93 Brown Street, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.
*Charleston, S. J., M.A., Handelshögskolan Sveavagen, Stockholm, Sweden.
Charnwood, Lord, M.A., 108 Eaton Square, S.W.1.
Charteris, Hon. Evan, 3 Pump Court, Temple, E.C.4.
Chitty, Herbert, M.A., F.S.A., 26 Ladbroke Square, W.11.
Chopra, G. L., Ph.D., Government College, Lahore, India.
* Christie, Mrs., Gatlands, Ditchling, Sussex.
Church, Rev. L. F., B.A., Ph.D., Richmond College, Richmond, Surrey.
Churchill, E. F., M.A., D.Litt., 32 Eversleigh Road, E.6.
CHURCHILL, MISS I. J., Fircroft, Shortlands, Kent.
Clapham, Professor J. H., C.B.E., Litt.D., King's College, Cambridge.
Clark, C. Upson, Ph.D., Massawippi Summer School, North Hatley, Quebec, Canada.
Clark, G. N., M.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
Clark, Rev. Henry W., D.D., Charisma, Harpenden, Herts.
Clarke, Miss M. V., M.A., Somerville College, Oxford.
Clayton, J., Trescore, St. Merryn, Padstow, Cornwall.
Clements, E. E., Greenways, Fairfield Park, Bath.
Cleve, T. C. Van, M.A., Ph.D., Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.
COATE, MISS M., M.A., Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
Cobb, Sir Cyril Stephen, B.C.L., M.A., F.R.G.S., 5 Cornwall Terrace, N.W.1.
Cockle, M. J. D., Wheatfen Broad, Surlingham, Norwich.
Cohen, R. Kelf, M.A., 114 Croydon Road, S.E.20.
Colby, Professor C. W., M.A., Ph.D., 560 Pine Avenue, W. Montreal, Canada.
Collins, Professor Ross W., M.A., B.D., Ph.D., University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.
Coopland, Professor G. W., M.A., Litt.D., 6 Bark Hill Road, Aigburth, Liverpool.
Cope, J. H., Finchampstead Place, Berks.
* Cornelius, Rev. W. J. J., B.D., D.Litt., All Saints' Vicarage, North Peckham, S.E.15.

Cory, Sir George E., M.A., D.Litt., Archives, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, S. Africa.
Cotterell, H. H., F.R.S.A., The Little House, Croxley Green, Watford, Herts.
Coupland, Professor R., M.A., Wootton Hill, near Oxford.
*Crawley, C. W., M.A., Trinity Hall, Cambridge.
Cross, Professor A. L., Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
Crowe, F. J. W., F.R.A.S., St. Peter's House, Chichester.
Cruikshank, Brig.-General E. A., LL.D., F.R.S.C., 53 Wilton Crescent, Ottawa, Canada.
Cruttwell, C. R., M.A., Hertford College, Oxford.
Cundall, F., F.S.A., Barnsil, Kingston, Jamaica, W. Indies.
Cunningham, Miss A., M.A., 2 St. Paul's Road, Cambridge.

Darlington, R. R., B.A., Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W.8.
* Darwin, F. D. S., M.A., 188 Woodstock Road, Oxford.
Das, Harihar, B.Litt., Sidhipasa, Jessore, Khulna, Bengal, India.
Davey, G. M., 20 Essex Street, W.C.2.
David, Professor C. W., Ph.D., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., U.S.A.
* Davies, G., M.A., Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
Davies, Miss A. F., M.A., 8 Bradmore Road, Oxford.
* Davies, The Ven. Archdeacon D. J., M.A., B.D., Moore Theological College, Newtown, Sydney, Australia.
Davies, R. T., M.A., 9 Manor Road, Holywell, Oxford.
Davies, W. S., M.A., 36 Gwydr Crescent, Swansea.
Davies, W. T., B.A., 18 Glan Terrace, Morriston, Swansea.
* Davis, Miss E. Jeffries, M.A., F.S.A., University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
* Day, P. W., M.A., 50 Marine Terrace, Blyth, Northumberland.
Deacon, J. L., J.P., Sladen House, Rye, Sussex.
Dean, Miss I. F. M., 3 West Scott Terrace, Hamilton, N.B.
* Denny, L. R. R., M.A., 47 Rhodes Street, Merivale, Christchurch, New Zealand.
Dilks, T. B., B.A., East Gate, Bridgwater.
D'Irsay, S., M.A., M.D., The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
Dodderidge, Rev. S. E., M.A., Thornbury Rectory, Bromyard, Worcester.
Dodwell, Professor H. H., M.A., School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.2.
Doncaster, J. H., M.A., Wag Wood, Dore, Sheffield.
Douglas, D. C., B.A., The University, Glasgow.
Dow, Professor E. W., 554 Thompson Street, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
Driver, C. H., M.A., 14 Hillcrest Road, South Woodford, Essex.
Dudden, Rev. F. H., M.A., The Master's Lodgings, Pembroke College, Oxford.
Duncalf, Professor F. I., Ph.D., University of Texas, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.
Duncan, Professor D. Shaw, Ph.D., LL.D., 2010 So. Gaylord Street, Denver, Col., U.S.A.

Duniway, C. A., Ph.D., LL.D., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn., U.S.A.
* Durham, The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of, D.D., Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland.
Dyer, Miss F. E., 108 Jerningham Road, S.E.14.

Easterling, Miss R. C., M.A., 12A Raleigh House, Larkhall Road, S.W.8.
Eastwood, Professor R. A., LL.B., The University, Manchester.
Edwards, J. G., M.A., Jesus College, Oxford.
Edwards, Major T. J., Room 123, The War Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.
Ellis, A. C., M.A., 6 Sanford Crescent, Chelston, Torquay.
Ellis, C., M.A., 14 Dudley Road, S.W.19.
Ellis, J. P., M.A., Llysmynach, Dolgelly, Merioneth.
Ettinger, A. A., M.A., D.Phil., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Evans, Miss A. M., M.A., Normal College, Bangor, N. Wales.
Evans, Sir E. Vincent C. H., LL.D., F.S.A., 64 Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
Evans, Miss Joan, B.Litt., 9 Kensington Park Gardens, W.11.
Ewing, Professor J., M.A., Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, S. Africa.
* Ezard, Edward Henry, M.A., M.D., Clare Cottage, Castle Street, Cambridge.

Fahim, Mohammad Bey, c/o Ministry of Education, Cairo, Egypt.
Faraday, W. B., LL.B., J.P., 2 Middle Temple Lane, E.C.4.
Farmer, Miss O. G., M.A., LL.B., Newnham College, Cambridge.
* Farquhar, Miss Helen, 6 Lowdnes Street, S.W.1.
Farran, Professor A. C., M.A., Elphinstone College, Bombay, India.
* Fay, Professor C. R., M.A., 374 Brunswick Avenue, Toronto, Canada.
Feiling, Keith, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
Fenwick, Miss Susan F., 64 Kensington Park Road, W.11.
Ferris, C. E., Dunelm School, 28 Armagh Street, Christchurch, New Zealand.
Firth, Professor Sir Charles Harding, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., 2 Northmoor Road, Oxford.
Fish, Professor C. R., Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., U.S.A.
Fisher, The Right Hon. H. A. L., D.Litt., F.R.S., F.B.A., Warden's Lodgings, New College, Oxford.
Fitzmaurice, The Right Hon. Lord, F.B.A., Leigh House, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.
Fletcher, J. S., Falklands, Harrow Road West, Dorking.
Fletcher, Rev. Canon J. M. J., M.A., 21 The Close, Salisbury.
* Ford, Worthington C., Ph.D., Massachusetts Historical Society, Fenway, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
* Fortescue, Hon. Sir John, LL.D., D.Litt., Little Orchard, Old Hall, Ware, Herts.
Foster, Rev. Canon C. W., M.A., F.S.A., Timberland Vicarage, Lincoln.
* Fotheringham, J. K., M.A., D.Litt., 6 Blackhall Road, Oxford.
* Fountaine, Mrs. R. W., Pollicott, Thame, Oxon.
Fowler, G. H., The Old House, Aspley Guise, Bedfordshire.
Frampton, R., B.A., 185 May Lane, Kings Heath, Birmingham.
Frazer, N. L., M.A., The Grammar School, Ilkley, Yorks.

* Free, Rev. Richard W., M.A., B.D., St. Clement's Vicarage, Fulham, S.W.
* Freeman, Arnold, M.A., B.Litt., Sheffield Education Settlement, Shipton Street, Sheffield.
Freeman, J. J., C.B.E., Shepperton-on-Thames.
French, Colonel C. N., C.M.G., C.B.E , 19 Knightsbridge, S.W.1.

Galbraith, V. H., M.A., 1 Garford Road, Oxford.
Garrett, Professor H. L. O., M.A., I.E.S., Government College, Lahore, India.
Gee, The Very Rev. Henry, D.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., Dean of Gloucester, The Deanery, Gloucester.
Geyl, Professor Pieter, Litt.D., 58 Circus Road, N.W.8.
* Gibbons, H. A., Ph.D., Litt.D., Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Giles, A. F., M.A., The University, Edinburgh.
Gingell, W. H., 8 East Parade, Leeds.
Gipson, Professor L. H., Ph.D., Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
* Giuseppi, M. S., F.S.A., Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
Glendon, E. T., M.A., Burwell, Cambs.
Gnana Viran, S. S., 70 Phayre Street, Rangoon, Burma, India.
Godley, The Hon. Eveline, South Hatfield, Coleman's Hatch, Sussex.
* Gooch, G. P., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., 76 Campden Hill Road, W.8.
Goodman, Paul, 10 The Ridgeway, N.W.11.
Goodman, Rev. Canon A. W., M.A., B.D., F.S.A., Dormy Cottage, S. Cross Road, Winchester.
Gotch, J. A., M.A., F.S.A., Weekley Rise, Kettering.
Grace, W. F. J., M.A., Ph.D., Thornfield, Huyton, nr. Liverpool.
* Graham, Miss Rose, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., 12 Ladbroke Gardens, W.11.
Graham, Rev. W., M.A., L.Th., 30 Clarendon Square, Leamington.
Grant, Professor A. J., M.A., 1 Welburn Avenue, Far Headingley, Leeds.
Graves, Miss F. M., 3 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
* Gray, Rev. E. D. McQueen, M.A., Forest Green, Dorking.
Greaves, J. W., M.A., Sydney High School, Sydney, Australia.
Green, D. Walford, M.A., Lendrick, Bishop's Teignton, S. Devon.
Green, Ernest, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Canada.
Green, F., 7 Haydon Park Road, S.W.19.
Green, J. E. S., M.A., 81 Mayon Road, S.E.26.
Greene, C. H., M.A., Incents, Crowborough, Sussex.
Greene, Professor E. B., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
Greenwood, Miss A. D., Capton, Williton, near Taunton.
Gregory, M. V., M.A., D'Orery, Rose Lane, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
Grew, Mrs. M. E., 47 Oakley Street, S.W.3.
Grime, Rev. A., M.A., Stanley Mount, Taunton Road, Ashton-under-Lyne.
* Grimes, Rev. C. H. D., M.A., 54 Rue Croix de Seguey, Bordeaux.
Guilday, Rev. Peter, Ph.D., LL.D., Catholic University of America, Brookland, D.C., U.S.A.
Gumbley, Rev. W., O.P., Laxton Hall, Stamford, Northants.
* Gun, W. T. J., B.A. (*Auditor*), 48 Hornton Court, Hornton Street, W.8.

Haigh, W. E., 13 Wormwald Street, Almondbury, Huddersfield.
* Hailstone, Edward, 10 Broncoed Park, Mold, Flintshire.
* Hall, C. S., M.A., Holywell House, Watt Lane, Ranmoor, Sheffield.
Hall, Hubert, Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director*, 26 Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
Hall, I. V., M.A., 184 Fishponds Road, Bristol.
Hall, Miss M. Foljambe, 26 Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
Hall, Professor D. G. E., M.A., University College, Rangoon, Burma.
* Hall, T. W., M.A., 6 Gladstone Road, Sheffield.
Halliday, W. R., M.A., B.Litt., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
Hallward, N. L., M.A., I.E.S., Westcote, Dunsfold, Godalming.
Hammerton, J. A., De Waldon Lodge, Meads Road, Eastbourne.
Hancock, Ven. Archdeacon L. R., M.A., The Rectory, Byfleet, Surrey.
Harding, W. G., F.S.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
Haring, Professor C. H., Ph.D., 15 Channay Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Harley, J. H., M.A., 59 Parliament Hill, N.W.3.
Harlow, V. T., M.A., B.Litt., The Firs, Old Marston, Oxford.
Harvey, Professor E. L., M.A., University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
Hasluck, E. L., B.A., Heathfield, Western Avenue, Herne Bay, Kent.
Hassall, Arthur, M.A., 8 St. Aldate's, Oxford.
Hattersley, Professor A. F., M.A., 10 The Avenue, Filey, Yorks.
* Havinden, Eric, M.A., Chesswood, George Road, Solihull, Warwickshire.
Hayden, Professor Mary T., M.A., 47 Windsor Road, Rathmines, Dublin.
Hayward, A. L., Belmont, Jordans, Beaconsfield, Herts.
Hazeltine, Professor H. D., M.A., F.B.A., West Lodge, Downing College, Cambridge.
Hazen, Professor C. D., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
Headlam, Cecil, M.A., Broadmead, Westwell Leacon, Charing, Kent.
* Hearnshaw, Professor F. J. C., M.A., LL.D. (*Hon. Treasurer*), 28 Spencer Hill, S.W.19.
Heathcote, Professor C. W., A.M., Ph.D., State Normal School, 215 South Walnut Street, West Chester, Penn., U.S.A.
Heatley, D. P., M.A., 28 Minto Street, Edinburgh.
Heaton, R. W., M.A., LL.B., Government Library, Pretoria, S. Africa.
Heaton, Rev. W., B.D., 17 Camden Crescent, Bath.
Hepburn, E., 111 Main Road, Sidcup, Kent.
* Higham, C. S. S., M.A., 16 Leopold Road, S.W.19.
Hill, J. W. F., M.A., LL.M., 2 Lindum Terrace, Lincoln.
Hill, Lady, Green Place, Stockbridge, Hants.
Hine, R. L., F.S.A., Willian Bury, Willian, Herts.
Hirsch, Professor A. H., Ph.D., 35 Darlington Road, Delaware, Ohio, U.S.A.
Hoare, Lieut.-Colonel E. G., D.S.O., B.A., Ifield Park, Crawley, Sussex.
Hodges, H. W., M.A., Royal Naval College, Dartmouth.
* Hodgkin, R. H., M.A., Queen's College, Oxford.
Hoggarth, A. H. G., M.A., Churcher's College, Petersfield.
* Hollingsworth, L. W., B.A., Education Dept., Zanzibar, E. Africa.
Holmes, T. Rice, Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., 1 Akehurst Street, S.W.15.
Hood, Mrs. Ivo, Sidestrand, Cromer.
* Horn, D. B., M.A., D.Litt., 67 Ladysmith Road, Edinburgh.

Horne, Rev. W., The Vicarage, Lower Darwen, Lancs.
Horsburgh, E. L. S., B.A., Eastmount, Ryde, Isle of Wight.
Horváth, Professor Eugene, Phil.D., IV, Molnar utca 29, II, 8, Budapest, Hungary.
Hotblack, Miss K., D.Sc., 45 Newmarket Road, Norwich.
Hoult, James, F.S.A. (Scot.), 12 Brookland Road, Stoneycroft, Liverpool.
Houseman, J. W., M.A., The Grammar School, Hipperholme, nr. Halifax.
* Howard-Watson, Captain J. A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.L., 1 Eaton Bank, Crosby Road North, Waterloo, near Liverpool.
Howay, His Honour Judge F. W., LL.B., Law Courts, New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada.
Hoyland, J. S., M.A., Hislop College, Nagpur, C.P., India.
Hull, Professor W. I., Ph.D., Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa., U.S.A.
Hunt, Rev. William, M.A., D.Litt., 24 Phillimore Gardens, W.8.
Hutchins, E. J., M.A., B.Litt., Bedford Modern School, Bedford.
* Hyamson, A. M., P.O. Box 437, Jerusalem, Palestine.
* Hyde, J. H., B.A., 67 Boulevard Lannes, Paris, XVI^e, France.
Hyma, Professor Albert, Ph.D., 382 E. William Street, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
Hyslop, R., F.S.A. (Scot.), 5 Bellevue Crescent, Sunderland.

* Ilchester, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Holland House, Kensington, W.8.
Ingham, Alfred, One Ash, Brooklands, Cheshire.
Irwin, Miss M. G., M.A., 7 The Butts, Harrow-on-the-Hill.
Ivamy, E., M.A., Redesdale, The Park, Cheltenham.

Jackson, H. S., 165 New Park Road, S.W.2.
Jackson, Rev. Canon F. J. Foakes, D.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
Jacob, Professor E. F., M.A., D.Phil., The University, Manchester.
Jamison, Miss E. M., M.A., Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
Jane, Cecil, M.A., Argentine Club, 1 Hamilton Place, W.1.
Jeffery, R. W., M.A., Brasenose College, Oxford.
Jenkins, Rev. Canon Claude, D.D., F.S.A., The Library, Lambeth Palace, S.E.1.
Jenkinson, Hilary, M.A., F.S.A., 29 Cheyne Row, S.W.3.
* Johnson, C., M.A., F.S.A., 10 Well Road, N.W.3.
Johnson, J. D. A., LL.D., F.R.S.A. (Irel.), 5 Elton Park, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
Johnson, J. H., M.A., 137 Swiss Avenue, Chelmsford.
Johnston, Miss K. L., M.A., 172 Hanover Road, N.W.10.
Johnston, Rev. J. B., M.A., B.D., 63 Cherry Gardens, Edinburgh.
Johnston, D. Hope, Kia Ora, 11A Commonwealth Parade, Manley, Sydney, Australia.
Johnstone, Professor Hilda, M.A., Moss Lea, Englefield Green, Surrey.
Johnstone, Rev. S. M., B.A., St. John's Rectory, Parramatta, New South Wales, Australia.
Jones, E. Alfred, M.A., Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.

* Jones, Miss M. E. Monckton, M.A., 2 FitzWilliam, Cambridge.
Jones, Professor T. F., Ph.D., New York University, University Heights, New York, U.S.A.
Jones, W. G., M.A., 40 Park Road West, Birkenhead.
Jourdan, Rev. G. V., D.D., S. Mary Shandon Rectory, Cork.

* Kay, H., M.A., Merton, Beresford Road, E.4.
Keenleyside, H. W., M.A., Ph.D., Canadian Legation, Tokyo, Japan.
Keir, D. L., M.A., University College, Oxford.
Kelway, Clifton, F.R.G.S., 57 Warwick Square, S.W.1.
Kennedy, W. J. Rann, M.A., 10 Laureston Place, Dover.
Kenney, James F., M.A., Public Archives, Ottawa, Canada.
Kerr, W. B., M.A., Ph.D., University of Buffalo, New York, U.S.A.
* Khan, Professor Shafaat Ahmad, B.A., Litt.D., The University, Allahabad, India.
Kingham, W. R., M.A., 9 Clanricarde Gardens, W.2.
Kinloch, Rev. T. F., M.A., The Gate Farm, Brocton, Stafford.
Kirkconnell, Professor Watson, M.A., F.R.G.S., Wesley College, Winnipeg, Canada.
* Kirkpatrick, F. A., M.A., 23 Bateman Street, Cambridge.
Klein, W. G., F.S.A., 7 Eldon Road, N.W.3.
Knight, L. Stanley, M.A., The School House, Pengam, Glam.
Krishnamachasi, T. M., H.H., The Maharajah's College, Trivandrum, Travancore, S. India.

Laistner, Professor M. L. W., M.A., 239 Goldwin Smith Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
Lambert, Sir Henry, K.C.M.G., C.B., Larklands, Banstead, Surrey.
* Langhorne, W. B., Combe Head, Combe St. Nicholas, Chard, Som.
* Langley, Rev. A. S., The Manse, Walsall Street, Wednesbury.
Laprado, Professor W. T., Ph.D., 1108 Monmouth Avenue, Durham, N. Carolina, U.S.A.
Lapsley, G., M.A., Ph.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Lardelli, Miss M. L., Girls' High School, Brigg, Lincs.
Larson, Professor L. M., Ph.D., LL.D., 315 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Lart, C. E., B.A., Harpford, near Sidmouth.
Latané, J. H., Ph.D., Dean, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
Laurence, R. V., C.V.O., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Law, Miss A., F.R.S.L., The Old Parsonage, Altham, Accrington.
Layton, W. T., Mayhill, High Street, St. Lawrence, Ramsgate.
Lees, Miss B. A., M.A., 8 Norham Road, Oxford.
Leftwich, B. R., M.B.E., 1 Ravenscourt Park, High Barnet, Herts.
Lega-Weekes, Miss Ethel, Varnello, Topsham Road, Exeter.
Legg, L. G., Wickham, M.A., Savile House, Oxford.
* Lennard, R., M.A., Wadham College, Oxford.
* Leonard, Miss E. M., M.A., 13 Oakwood Court, W.14.
* Lepper, R. S., LL.M., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down.
Leslie, Lieut.-Colonel J. H., R.A. (retired list), Gunnersholme, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

Letts, M. H. I., 27 West Heath Drive, N.W.11.
Levett, Professor A. E., M.A., Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Lewin, Evans, M.B.E., Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.
Lewis, Professor E. A., M.A., D.Sc., University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.
Lewis, J. H., M.A., 10 Glannant Street, Penygraig, Rhondda.
Lewis, Rev. E. R., D.D., Englemere, Mere Lane, Scarborough.
Liddell-Hart, Captain B. H., Tray's Hill, Hornsey Lane, N.6.
Limbrick, Rev. W. A., The Vicarage, Epping Upland, Essex.
* Lipson, E., M.A., New College, Oxford.
Little, Andrew G., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., Risborough, Vine Court Road, Sevenoaks.
* Littler, Rev. H. D., M.A., Red Barns, Redcar.
Llewellin, Rev. F. G., B.D., Kidsgrove Vicarage, Stoke-on-Trent.
* Lloyd, H. I., O.B.E., M.A., c/o Ministry of Interior, Baghdad.
* Lloyd, Professor J. E., D.Litt., Gwaen Deg, Bangor.
Lock, Arthur B., B.A., Shenley Fields School, Northfield, Birmingham.
Lock, Major H. O., 53 High West Street, Dorchester.
Lockitt, C. H., M.A., The Grammar School, Bungay, Suffolk.
Lodge, Miss E. C., M.A., D.Litt., Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.3.
* Lodge, Sir Richard, LL.D. (*President*), Litt.D., Lane End, Harpenden, Herts.
Long, Mrs. G. M., F.R.S.L., 37a Craven Terrace, W.2.
Loomis, Professor Louise, Ph.D., Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, New York, U.S.A.
Lovegrove, E. W., M.A., F.S.A., Ruthin School, N. Wales.
Lovett, Sir Verney, K.C.S.I., M.A., 11 Linton Road, Oxford.
Lucas, Frank W., 2 Bay Road, Freshwater Bay, I.W.
Lunt, Professor W. E., Ph.D., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., U.S.A.
* Lybyer, Professor A. H., A.M., Ph.D., 1006 W. Nevada Street, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
* Lydall, John French, 37 John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.1.
Lyell, J. P. R., J.P., 78 Woodstock Road, Oxford.
* Lyle, Thomas, M.A., The Hollies, 41 Beckenham Road, Beckenham, Kent.

Macdonald, Rev. Alan J., M.A., B.D., St. Dunstan's Vestry, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
McElroy, Professor R., M.A., LL.D., Ph.D., 18 Norham Gardens, Oxford.
* Macfadyen, Rev. Dugald, M.A., Bramble Bank, Muington Lane, Letchworth.
McHaffie, W. H., M.A., 114 Pretoria Road, S.W.16.
McIlwain, Professor C. H., Ph.D., Standish Hall, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Mackie, Professor J. D., M.A., The University, Glasgow.
McKisack, Miss May, M.A., B.Litt., 19 Cambier Terrace, Liverpool.
McLaughlin, Professor A. C., A.M., LL.D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
McLennan, Senator J. S., The Senate, Ottawa, Canada.
McNamara, W. H., 29 Campbell Road, E.17.
Macnutt, Archdeacon F. R., M.A., The Sub-Deanery, Stoneygate, Leicester.

Magrath, C. J., O.B.E., D.Litt., 8 Thrompson Road, Sheffield.
Mainwaring, J., B.A., The Mill House, Kingswinford, Staffs.
Major, Miss E. H., M.A., Girton College, Cambridge.
MALDEN, HENRY ELLIOT, M.A. (*Hon. Sec.*), 17 Rose Hill, Dorking.
* Malden, Rev. E. E., M.A., M.B.E., St. Chad's Vicarage, North Linwood, Christchurch, N.Z.
Malden, Rev. Canon R. H., M.A., Headingley Vicarage, Leeds.
Malone, Professor Dumas, Ph.D., A.M., LL.D., Editor, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 602 Hill Building, 17th Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Manwaring, G. E., 38 Sarsfield Road, S.W.12.
Markham, S. F., B.A., B.Litt., 94 Broadhurst Gardens, N.W.6.
* Marsden, E., B.A., F.R.S.L., 12 Ellerdale Road, N.W.3.
Marsh, Professor F. B., Ph.D., University of Texas, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.
Marshall, Miss D., M.A., Ph.D., Bedford College for Women, Regent's Park, N.W.8.
Marshall, Rev. R. L., M.A., LL.D., The Manse, Maghera, Co. Derry.
Marshall, T. H., M.A., 7 Caroline Place, W.C.1.
* Marten, C. H. K., M.A., Waynflete House, Eton College, Windsor.
Martin, Miss E. C., M.A., Ph.D., Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Marvin, F. S., M.A., H.M.I., 20 Guessans Court, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.
* Mason, Rev. W. A. Parker, M.A., 11 Burford Road, Whalley Range, Manchester.
Mathews, G. W., F.S.A., 23 Holland Road, Wallasey, Cheshire.
* Mathur, Tikait Narain, B.A., LL.B., 30/27 Chili-ent Road, Agra, U.P., India.
Mears, R. A. F., M.A., B.Litt., 12 Polstead Road, Oxford.
Mercier, Miss W., M.A., Whitelands College, Chelsea, S.W.3.
Merriman, Professor Roger B., M.A., 175 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Methley, Miss Violet M., 41 Barkston Gardens, S.W.5.
Miller, Miss E. W., B.A., 57 Ward's Road West, Ilford.
Miller, W., M.A., British Archæological School, Rue Spensiopos, Athens, Greece.
* Mills, Colonel, 29 Pembroke Road, W.8.
Montague, Professor F. C., M.A., 177 Woodstock Road, Oxford.
* Moor, Rev. Charles, M.A., D.D., F.S.A., 14 Lexham Gardens, W.8.
Moore, H. Stuart, 6 King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.4.
Moore, Miss M. F., M.A., Ph.D., St. Monica's, Burgh Heath, Tadworth, Surrey.
Moreton, Rev. H. A. V., B.A., D. ès Lettres (Besançon), The Vicarage, Flamborough, E. Yorks.
* Morgan, W. T., M.A., Ph.D., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., U.S.A.
* Morison, Professor J. L., M.A., D.Litt., Dilston Crossing, Corbridge, Northumberland.
Morley, T. H., B.Sc., 312 King's Road, Reading.
Morrah, D. M. M., M.A., 46 Lambolle Road, N.W.3.
Morris, A., Gwynfa, Llanmartin, Mon.
* Morris, Rev. Professor H. C. S., M.A., University of Trinity College, Toronto, Canada.

Morris, J. E., D.Litt., Rest Haven, 17 Sturges Road, Wokingham, Berks.
Morris, Professor W. A., Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
Morrison, Rev. G. W., M.A., Ph.D., Almondbury Vicarage, Huddersfield.
Morrow, His Excellency Ambassador D. W., A.B., LL.B., Englewood, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Mounfield, A., Epworth, Whitefield Road, Warrington.
Mullens, W. H., Beaufort Park, Battle, Sussex.
* Muller, Professor J. A., Ph.D., 4 St. John's Road, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Mumby, F. A., 135 Foxley Lane, Purley, Surrey.
Munro, Professor D. C., L.H.D., Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
Myres, Rev. M. W., D.D., Frodsham Vicarage, Cheshire.

Namier, L. B., M.A., 15 Gloucester Walk, W.8.
Narayan, Brij., M.A., c/o Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Delhi, India.
* Neale, Professor J. E., M.A., University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
Neilson, Professor N., Ph.D., Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.
Neve, Arthur H., 21, The Drive, Tonbridge.
Newhall, Professor R. A., Ph.D., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., U.S.A.
Newton, Professor A. P., D.Litt, F.S.A., 67 Corringham Road, N.W.11.
Nichols, J. F., B.A., Ph.D., 105 College Road, Isleworth, Middlesex.
Nijhoff, Wouter, Lange Voorhout 9, The Hague, Holland.
Noakes, Miss J., The Wilderness, Salisbury.
Notestein, Professor Wallace, Ph.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
* Nunn, William, Darras Hall, Ponteland, Northumberland.
* Nuttall, J. R., J.P., Thornfield, Lancaster.

Oakley, Professor T. P., Ph.D., 112 Milton Road, Flagstaff, Arizona, U.S.A.
O'Brien, Professor George, B.A., D.Litt., 40 Northumberland Road, Dublin.
* Oke, A. W., B.A., F.S.A., 32 Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex.
Oman, Professor Sir C. W. C., K.B.E., M.P., LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Frewin Hall, Oxford.
Ormerod, Professor H. A., M.A., F.S.A., 25A Falkner Square, Liverpool.
Osborn, J. Lee, Northgate House, Brinkworth, nr. Chippenham.
O'Sullivan, Professor M. Donovan, M.A., Lisgorm, Galway, Ireland.
Owen, Hugh, M.A., F.S.A., Aranfa, Llangefni, Anglesey.
* Owen, R., Argraffdy Owen, Welshpool, Wales.
Owst, G. R., M.A., D.Litt., Ph.D., Glenrosa, Heswall Hall, Wirral, Cheshire.

Packard, S. R., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., 85 Washington Avenue, Northampton, Mass., U.S.A.
Page, Miss Frances M., M.A., Ph.D., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
Page, W., F.S.A., Ashmere Croft, Middleton, near Bognor.
Pantin, W. A., M.A., The University, Manchester.

Pape, F. J., 26 Main Street, Cockermouth, Cumberland.
Parker, Captain H., F.R.G.S., 28 Berkeley Square, W.1.
* Parker, Colonel J. W. R., C.B., D.L., V.P.S.A., Brownsholme Hall, nr. Clitheroe, Lancs.
* Parker, L. N., F.R.A.M., Hotel d'Angleterre, Vevey, Switzerland.
Parkin, Thomas, M.A., F.L.S., Fairseat, High Wickham, Hastings.
Passfield, The Rt. Hon. Lord, LL.B., 41 Grosvenor Road, S.W.1.
Paul, J. N. W., B.A., Robertson College, Jubbulpore, C.P., India.
Pearce, J. P., F.R.I.B.A., 9 Beach Lawn, Waterloo, Liverpool.
* Pearson, Rev. A. F. Scott, D.Th., D.Litt., The Manse, West Kilbride, Ayrshire.
Peel, Rev. Albert, M.A., Litt.D., 97 Russell Road, Buckhurst Hill.
Peel, J. K., M.A., 6 Canterbury Terrace, Leicester.
Penn, C. D., M.A., 25 Henderson Road, S.W.18.
Penney, Norman, LL.D., F.S.A., Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1.
Penson, Professor Lillian M., Ph.D., 1 Doughty Street, W.C.1.
Perkins, Rev. J., M.A., 5 Little Cloisters, Westminster Abbey, S.W.1.
Perrin, W. G., O.B.E., Admiralty Library, Whitehall, S.W.1.
Petrie, Sir Charles, Bt., M.A., Glenalmond, Horley, Surrey.
* Phelps, Rev. P. B., M.A., Swanmore, near Bishops Waltham, Hants.
Phillips, Professor U. B., A.M., Ph.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Phillpotts, Dame Bertha S., D.Litt., D.B.E., The Ousels, Dudley Road, Tunbridge Wells.
Pieris, P. E., Litt.D., Ceylon Civil Service, Colombo, Ceylon.
Pinchbeck, Miss I., M.A., Ph.D., 43 Tavistock Square, W.C.1.
Plucknett, T. F. T., M.A., LL.B., Harvard Law School, Cambridge 38, Mass., U.S.A.
* Pollard, Professor A. F., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Branksea, 7 St. Mary's Grove, Barnes Common, S.W.13.
Pollock, Right Hon. Sir F., Bt., K.C., D.C.L., LL.D., 21 Hyde Park Place, W.2.
Pond, P. J., The Grange, 60 Alexandra Road South, Manchester.
Poole, A. L., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
Porteus, Rev. T. C., M.A., B.D., St. John's Vicarage, Coppull, Chorley, Lancs.
Potter, Rev. E. C., M.A., The Modern School, Bedford.
* Potter, G. R., M.A., The Queen's University, Belfast, N. Ireland.
Powell, Miss Helen L., 127 Vassall Road, S.W.9.
Powell-Price, J. C., M.A., c/o Messrs. Grindley & Co., Bombay, India.
Power, C. E., 22 Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.2.
Power, Miss E. E., M.A., D.Litt., 20 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
Powicke, Professor F. M., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
Powley, E. B., B.A., B.Litt., Merchant Taylors School, Crosby, Liverpool.
Prestage, Professor Edgar, M.A., D.Litt., 16 Holland Street, W.8.
* Previté-Orton, C. W., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., 55 Bateman Street, Cambridge.
Purnell, E. K., M.A., M.B.E., North Hill, Windlesham, Surrey.
Purvis, A., B.Sc., 139 Widdenham Road, N.7.
Putnam, Professor Bertha H., Ph.D., Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.

Raby, F. J. E., B.A., F.S.A., 40 Barleycroft Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.
Radford, C. A. R., B.A., Broadwinch Manor, Devon.
Radford, Lady, 2 Pennsylvania Park, Exeter.
Radford, Right Rev. Lewis, D.D., Bishop of Goulburn, Bishopsthorpe, Goulburn, N.S. Wales, Australia.
Radice, Mrs. Charles, The Manor House, Frimley.
Rae, D., M.A., Teachers' Training College, Auckland, New Zealand.
Rait, Professor R. S., LL.D., C.B.E., 31 Lilybank Gardens, Glasgow.
Ramsay, Miss A. A. W., M.A., Phil.D., Sunnybrae, Moffat, Dumfries-shire.
Ramsbotham, R. B., M.A., B.Litt., The United Service Club, Calcutta, India.
Rankin, Sir J. R. Lea, 154 West Hill, S.W.15.
Ravenshaw, J., B.A., 10 West Hill, N.6.
Rawlinson, H. G., M.A., The Principal, The Deccan College, Poona, India.
Ray, J. E., 9 Stanley Road, Hastings.
Read, Conyers, Ph.D., Villa Nova, Penna, U.S.A.
* Reddaway, W. F., M.A., King's College, Cambridge.
Redstone, V. B., F.S.A., 3 Seckford Street, Woodbridge.
Rees, Rev. T. Mardy, 24 Rugby Avenue, Neath, S. Wales.
Rees, Professor W., M.A., D.Sc., University College, Cathay's Park, Cardiff.
* Reichel, Sir Harry, M.A., LL.D., Garthewen, Bangor.
Reid, Miss R. R., M.A., D.Litt., 40 Cholmley Gardens, Hillfield Road, N.W.6.
Relf, Professor Frances, H., Ph.D., Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, New York, U.S.A.
* Renaut, Professor F. P., LL.D., D.Litt., 38 Rue du Lourmel, Paris, XV^{e}, France.
Rennard, T. A., M.A., Otter View, Ottery St. Mary, Devon.
* Renton, J. H., M.A., F.S.A., Rowfold Grange, Billingshurst, Sussex.
Richards, R. D., B.Sc., Ph.D., 176 Gwydir Street, Cambridge.
Richards, T., M.A., D.Litt., Brynawel, Deiniol Road, Bangor.
Richardson, H. G., M.A., B.Sc., High Barn, 14 Sheridan Road, S.W.19.
Richardson, Mrs. Herbert, B.A., Whitesand Cross, Donhead, St. Andrews, Shaftesbury.
Richardson, Professor O. H., Ph.D., 4717–19th Avenue, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
Richardson, Professor R. K., Ph.D., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis., U.S.A.
Richmond, Rear-Admiral Sir H. W., K.C.B., 95 Sloane Street, S.W.1.
Rickword, G., 38 Wellesley Road, Colchester.
Riddell, Hon. Mr. Justice W. Renwick, B.Sc., LL.D., Hon. L.H.D., Osgoode Hall, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Rimmer, Rev. J. S., M.A., B.D., The Rectory, Ulverston.
* Roberts, Captain J. H., F.R.G.S., F.S.I., 61 Wind Street, Swansea.
Roberts, P. E., M.A., Worcester College, Oxford.
* Roberts, R. A., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Robertson, Sir C. Grant, C.V.O., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Robertson, L. A., M.A., B.Litt., 29 Trinity Road, Edinburgh.
Robinson, Miss E. M., Moylena, 80 Underhill Road, S.E.22.
* Robinson, Morgan P., M.A., LL.B., 113 S. 3rd Street, Richmond, Va., U.S.A.

Robinson, Professor Chalfont, Ph.D., Princeton University, Princeton N.J., U.S.A.
Robinson, Professor E. E., Ph.D., Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
Robinson, Professor Howard, M.A., Ph.D., Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, U.S.A.
Robinson, Professor J. H., Ph.D., 173 Riverside Drive, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
* Robinson, Wilfrid C., 1 St. Luke's Road, W.11.
Rodkey, Professor F. S., A.M., Ph.D., 707 Indiana Street, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Root, Professor W. T., Ph.D., 214 East Church Street, Iowa City, Iowa, U.S.A.
Ropes, Arthur R., M.A., 68 Church Street, W.8.
Rose, Professor J. Holland, Litt.D., Walsingham, Millington Road, Cambridge.
Rose-Troup, Mrs. Frances, Bradleigh End, Ottery St. Mary, Devon.
Roth, Cecil, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., 22 Aberdare Gardens, N.W.6.
Rothwell, H., B.A., Ph.D., Baldwin House, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
* Routh, Miss E. M. G., Fairpark House, Exeter.
Routledge, F. J., M.A., B.Litt., 19 Banks Avenue, Great Meols, Wirral, Cheshire.
* Routledge, Mrs. Scoresby, M.A., 4 Hyde Park Gardens, W.2.
Runciman, J. C. S., B.A., 8 Barton Street, S.W.1.
Rushmore, F. M., M.A., St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.
Russell, Ephraim, M.A., B.Sc., Newlands, Swanlon, Winsford, Cheshire.
Ruud, M. B., Ph.D., 429 Walnut Street, S.E., Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
Ryley, Miss Caroline, Hild Hall, The Training College, Bingley.

Sadler, H. W. W., Stanhope, Rectory Road, Hadleigh, Essex.
Salmon, Miss Mary, M.A., Training College, Swansea.
* Salter, F. R., M.A., Magdalene College, Cambridge.
* Sands, H., F.S.A., 16 Portland Court, Great Portland Street, W.1.
Sandys, Miss A. M., M.A., St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford.
Sanigar, W. T., 205 Avon Vale Road, Barton Hill, Bristol.
Saunders, H. W., M.A., D.Litt., 83 Pinner Road, Harrow-on-the-Hill.
Sayles, G. O., M.A., The University, Glasgow.
Scholefield, G. H., D.Sc., O.B.E., 42 Upper Watt Street, Highland Park, Wellington, New Zealand.
Schuyler, R. L., A.M., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.
* Scofield, Miss Cora L., Ph.D., The College Club, 40 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Scott, Professor Ernest, M.A., The University, Melbourne, Australia.
Scott, Rev. H. S., D.Phil., B.Litt., Oddington Rectory, Islip, Oxon.
Searley, A. W., Northernhay, Kingskerswell, Devon.
Sears, Professor L. M., Ph.D., Purdue University, West La Fayette, Indiana, U.S.A.
* Seebohm, Hugh Exton, J.P., Poynders End, Hitchin.
Sefton-Jones, Mrs. H., The White House, Fawkham, Kent.
Seton-Watson, Professor R. W., D.Litt., Ph.D., 1 Buckingham Street, S.W.1.

* Seybolt, Professor R. F., Ph.B., M.A., Ph.D., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Seymour, Professor C., LL.D., Litt.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Sharma, Professor Sri Ram., M.A., D.A.V. College, Lahore, India.
Shaw, Professor P. E., M.A., Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.
Shaw, W. B., F.S.A. (Scot.), 56 Sandy Lane, Stretford, near Manchester.
* Shawcross, Major G. N., R.E. (T.A.), M.B.E., Deanwood, Rivington, nr. Bolton.
Shelley, R. J. A., Denbie House, Formby, Lancs.
Shelley-Rolls, Sir J. C. E., Bt., Avington Park, Winchester.
* Shettle, Rev. G. T., L.A., Hunsingore House, Wetherby, Yorks.
* Shipman, Professor H. R., Ph.D., 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
Shirley, Rev. F. J., M.A., LL.B., Headmaster's House, Worksop College, Notts.
Siebert, Professor W. H., M.A., University Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
* Sieveking, A. Forbes, F.S.A., 1 Cambridge Gardens, W.10.
* Silvester, Rev. J., M.A., Hilltop, Kingston, Lewes, Sussex.
Simon, André L., 24 Mark Lane, E.C.3.
* Simpson, Rev. F. A., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Skipton, Rev. H. P. K., F.S.A., St. Philip's Parsonage, Reigate.
Skrine, F. H., 147 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
* Slater, Professor Gilbert, M.A., 4 Park Crescent, Oxford.
Slosser, Rev. Professor G. J., S.T.M., Ph.D., 291 Summit Avenue, Bellevue, Penna, U.S.A.
Smart, Lieut.-Colonel F. W. B., M.A., Charterhouse, Godalming.
Smith, A. D., The Briars, Wilbury Road, Letchworth.
Smith, Donald, F.R.G.S., Kingsland, Kenneth Road, Thundersley, Essex.
* Smith, Miss M. Howes, M.A., County High School for Girls, Altrincham, Cheshire.
Smith, Professor C. H., LL.D., 461 South Goodman Street, Rochester, N.Y., U.S.A.
Smith, W. Owston, M.A., I.E.S.
* Smyth, C. H. E., B.A., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
Southam, Colonel L. A. C., D.S.O., Rodney House, Malvern Link.
Spalding, Miss E. H., M.A., The Training College, Bingley.
Spencer, T. P., M.A., 12, Rotherham Road, Eckington, Sheffield.
Spens, H. B., B.A., 25 Park Circus, Glasgow.
Stafford, G. W., M.A., 2 Corbar Mount, Corbar Road, Buxton.
Stamp, A. E., M.A., Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
* Stampa, L., M.A., F.S.A., 61 Holywell Street, Oxford.
Standing, T. G., M.A., Prince Edward School, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia.
Staveley, Miss M. C., M.A., Clifton Hill House, Bristol.
Stebbing, Miss L. S., M.A., 27 Belsize Park, N.W.3.
Steed, Wickham, Lansdowne House 7, Holland Park, W.11.
Stenton, Professor F. M., M.A., F.B.A., The University, Reading.
Stobart, J. C., M.A., 49 Argyll Road, W.8.
Summers, H. F., Market Place, Southwell, Notts.

Sumner, E. J., M.A., Sedgwick House, Sedbergh, Yorks.
Sutherland, Miss L. S., M.A., Somerville College, Oxford.
Sykes, Rev. Norman, M.A., D.Phil., 14 Leyborne Road, Kew, Surrey.
Synge, Miss M. B., 33 Royal Avenue, S.W.3.

* Tanner, Miss E. M., B.A., Roedean School, Brighton.
* Tanner, J. R., Litt.D., Woodside, Aldeburgh, Suffolk.
Tanner, L. E., M.A., F.S.A., 49 Romney Street, S.W.1.
Tapley-Soper, H., F.S.A., University College and City Library, Exeter.
Tate-Stoate, Rev. W. M., M.A., M.R.I.A., Belle Vue, Blockley, Worcs.
Tawney, R. H., B.A., Litt.D., 44 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
* Taylor, E. R., F.S.A., Norfolk House, Norfolk Street, W.C.2.
* Temperley, Professor H. W. V., O.B.E., Litt.D., F.B.A., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
* Terry, Professor B. S., Ph.D., LL.D., c/o S. B. Terry, 137 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
Thistlethwaite, B., 10 Victoria Road, Harborne, Birmingham.
Thomas, A. H., M.A., F.S.A., Records Office, Guildhall, E.C.2.
Thomas, H. A., B.A., 7 Brook Road, Stourbridge.
Thompson, Miss A. D., 107 Grange Road, S.E.1.
Thompson, Professor A. Hamilton, D.Litt., F.S.A., F.B.A., Beck Cottage, Adel, Leeds.
Thomson, Miss C. L., 16 South Ridgway Place, S.W.19.
Thomson, Miss G. Scott, M.A., 23 Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.1.
Thornley, Miss I. D., M.A., 6 Cholmeley Crescent, N.6.
Thornton, Miss G. A., B.A., Ph.D., Verandah House, Clare, Suffolk.
Thornton, Rev. Canon F. S., J.P., F.R.G.S., Shudy Camps Hall, Bartelow, Cambs.
* Thorp, John T., F.R.S.L., F.R.A.S.I., 54 Princess Road, Leicester.
Tipping, C. H., B.A., 1 St. George's Square, Cheltenham.
Titcombe, Rev. J. C., B.Litt., F.R.G.S., Seckford Street, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
Todd, Professor J. E., M.A., Queen's University, Belfast.
* Todhunter, Sir Charles, K.C.S.I., Bangalore, India.
Toller, T. N., M.A., D.Litt., Lansdowne House, Didsbury, Manchester.
Tompkins, H. W., 8 Cromer Road, Southend-on-Sea.
Tory, Henry Marshall, M.A., LL.D., D.Sc., President, National Research Council, Ottawa, Canada.
Tout, Mrs. T. F., M.A., 10 North Square, N.W.11.
Toye, D. B., LL.D., O.B.E., 41 Rutland Gardens, Hove, Sussex.
Toynbee, Miss M. R., M.A., Ph.D., 5 Park Crescent, Oxford.
* Toynbee, Paget, LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Fiveways, Burnham, Bucks.
Toyne, S. M., M.A., St. Peter's School, York.
Treat, Professor P. J., Ph.D., Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
* Trevelyan, Professor G. M., O.M., M.A., LL.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Tunstall, W. C. B., M.A., Royal Naval College, Greenwich, S.E.10.
Turberville, Professor A. S., M.A., B.Litt., 94 Potternewton Lane, Leeds.
Turner, Fred, F.S.A. (Scot.), 15 Penwerris Avenue, Osterley, Middx.
Turral, J., B.A., 26 Raikes Parade, Blackpool.
* Turton, Major Robert Bell, Kildale Hall, Kildale, Yorks.

Uriburu, His Excellency Senor J. E., Argentine Legation, 30 Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.1.
Urquhart, F. F., M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.
*Usher, Professor R. G., Ph.D., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.

Vaucher, Professor Paul, D. ès. L., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.1.
Vaughan, H. S., Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
Vaughan, W. W., M.A., The School, Rugby.
Veitch, Professor G. S., M.A., Litt.D., 8 Brompton Avenue, S. Liverpool.
* Vickers, K. H., M.A., Principal, University College, Southampton.
Vincent, Professor J. M., Ph.D., 406 South Holliston Avenue, Pasadena, Cal., U.S.A.

* Wade, C. E., M.A., 39 Regent's Park Road, N.W.1.
* Wake, Miss Joan, Northamptonshire Record Society, County Hall, Northampton.
Wakeling, G. H., M.A., 5 Northmoor Road, Oxford.
Wale, W., Cambridge Villas, 121 The Promenade, Cheltenham.
* Walker, J. W., O.B.E., F.S.A., The Grange, East Hagbourne, Didcot, Berks.
Walker, Major G. G., D.S.O., M.C., Armoury House, City Road, E.C.1.
Walker, J. H., M.B.E., F.S.A., 15 Park Valley, Nottingham.
Walker, Rev. T. A., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., Witnesham Rectory, Ipswich.
* Walker, Robert J., F.R.G.S., F.S.A., Ormidale, Knighton Park Road, Leicester.
Walker, W. H. T., M.A., New Street, Heckington, nr. Sleaford, Lincs.
* Wall, J. C., 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.
Wallace, Malcolm W., B.A., Ph.D., 91 Walmer Road, Toronto, Canada.
Warmington, E. H., M.A., 49 Mill Way, Mill Hill, N.W.7.
Watson, E. J., D.Litt., F.R.S.L., Thorpe Lodge, Cotham Side, Bristol.
Watson, W. G. Willis, M.A., Single's Lodge, Pinhoe, Exeter.
* Watt, James, LL.D., W.S., Craiglockhart House, Craiglockhart Avenue, Edinburgh, W.
* Watts, Rev. Herbert C., 27 Jaycroft, Burnham-on-Sea, Som.
Waugh, Professor W. T., M.A., McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
Weaver, F. J., M.A., 75 Chelsea Gardens, S.W.1.
Webb, T., 45 High Street, Andover.
Webster, Professor C. K., M.A., F.B.A., University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.
Weiner, A., M.A., 40 Bergholt Crescent, N.16.
Weitzmann, Miss S., M.A., Ph.D., 83 Aberdeen Road, W.5.
Welbourne, E., M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Welldon, Right Rev. Bishop, D.D., Dean of Durham, The Deanery, Durham.
Wellstood, F. C., M.A., F.S.A., 19 Henley Street, Stratford-on-Avon.
West, J. R., M.C., Ph.D., Moss Spring Cottage, Nuthall, nr. Nottingham.
Westergaard, Professor Waldemar, Ph.D., University of California, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Whale, Miss G. B., B.A., 33 Stacey Road, Cardiff.
* Whatton, J. S., M.A., Manormead, Hindhead, Surrey.

Wheeler, H. F. B., M.I.E.I., Hartlebury, Roy Road, Northwood, Middlesex.
White, A. B., Ph.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
White, G. H., 222 South Norwood Hill, S.E.25.
White, Miss E. M., Westcroft, Norton Road, Wembley, Middlesex.
Whitear, W. H., 10 Fairlawn Court, Chiswick, W.4.
Whitehead, A. W., M.A., Grenville, La Rocque, Jersey, Channel Islands.
Whiteley, Hon. J. G., 223 West Lanvale Street, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
Whitelock, Miss D., M.A., St. Hilda's College, Oxford.
Whitfield, Professor A. S., B.Litt., College of Nugata, Nugata-Si, Japan.
Whiting, Rev. C. E., B.D., B.C.L., St. Chad's College, Durham.
* Whitley, Rev. W. T., LL.D., 18 New London Road, Chelmsford, Essex.
Whitney, Rev. Professor J. P., D.D., 6 St. Peter's Terrace, Cambridge.
Whitson, Miss A. M., M.A., c/o The Commonwealth Fund, 41 East 57th Street, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
Wilden-Hart, Professor B. J., M.A., 59 Queen's Gate, S.W.7.
Wilkinson, M., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
Willard, Professor J. F., 1101 Aurora Avenue, Boulder, Col., U.S.A.
Williams, A. J., M.A., Church House, The Ridgeway, Mill Hill, N.W.7.
Williams, Rev. A. T. P., M.A., Head Master's House, The College, Winchester.
Williams, Professor Basil, M.A., The University, Edinburgh.
Williams, C. H., M.A., 60 College Hill, Llanelly, S. Wales.
Williams, H. G., M.A., 1 Kenilworth Gardens, Westcliff-on-Sea.
Williams, Professor J. W., M.A., B.Litt., Inglewood, St. Andrews, Fife, N.B.
Williams, Miss Judith B., Ph.D., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.
Williams, Professor R., M.A., 32 St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.1.
Williams, T. E., M.A., 26 Castle Square, Merthyr Tydvil.
Williams, T. G., M.A., 63 Eardley Crescent, S.W.5.
Williams, W. W., B.Sc., 17 Hilda Place, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks.
Williams, Rev. W. W., M.A., 3 Wellington House, Great Malvern, Worcs.
Williamson, F., Museum and Art Gallery, Derby.
Williamson, Rev. C. C. H., St. Mary of the Angels, Westmorland Road, W.2.
Wills-Sandford, Miss Mary, 2 Pusey Street, Oxford.
Wilson, A. E., M.A., 50 Matlock Road, Brighton.
Wilson, H. W., 203 Elgin Avenue, W.9.
* Wilson, Rev. S. G., B.Litt., F.S.A. (Scot.), St. Nicholas Rectory, Canterbury.
Winstanley, D. A., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Wood, Herbert, B.A., 74 Hazlewell Road, S.W.15.
Wood, William, Rock House, Polperro, Cornwall.
Woods, E. C., L.D.S., R.C.S., Green Gables, Bowness-on-Windermere.
Woodthorpe, Ven. Archdeacon R. A., M.A., 274 Birrell Street, Bondi, Sydney, Australia.
Woodward, E. L., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Wordsworth, Rev. C., M.A., St. Nicholas's Hospital, Salisbury.
Workman, Rev. H. B., D.D., D.Litt., Westminster College, S.W.1.

* Worsfold, Sir T. Cato, Bt., M A., LL.D., D.L. (*Hon. Solicitor*), 9 Staple Inn, W.C.1.
Wright, F. W., M.A., 55 Middle Park Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham.
Wright, Miss Irene, B.A., Reina Mercedes No. 1, 4°, Seville, Spain.
Wrong, Professor G. M., M.A., LL.D., 73 Walmer Road, Toronto, Canada.
Wynn, Rev. H. E., M.A., Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Yorke, Philip Chesney, M.A., Licencié-ès-Lettres (Univ. of Paris), 98 Addison Road, W.14.
Young, Sir George, M.V.O., 26 Upper Cheyne Road, S.W.3.
Young, R. Fitzgibbon, M.A., Boldrewood, Claygate, Surrey.

HONORARY FELLOWS.

* Hewins, W. A. S., M.A., 75 Chester Square, S.W.1.

Kenyon, Sir Frederic G., G.B.E., F.B.A., British Museum, W.C.1.

* Lyte, Sir H. C. Maxwell, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., 61 Warwick Square, S.W.1.

Montjau, Edouard de, Society of Ethnography, Paris.

* Poole, Reginald L., LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., 19 Banbury Road, Oxford.

* Honorary Life Fellows under By-law IV. (since repealed).

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Almkvist, Professor Johan, Nybrogatan 7, Stockholm, Sweden.
Andrews, Professor C. M., Ph.D., L.H.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Azevedo, Snr. Lucio d', Avenida de Birne, 21, 3°, Lisbon, Portugal.

Ballinger, John, C.B.E., M.A., National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
Bémont, Professor Charles, 14 Rue Monsieur le Prince, Paris (VI^{e}), France.
Botha, Graham C., M.A., Archive Department, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, South Africa.
Bourgeois, Professor Emile, Manufacture Nationale de Porcelaine, Sèvres (Seine-et-Oise), France.
Brandi, Professor K., Dr.Phil., Litt.D., The University, Göttingen, Germany.

Colenbrander, Professor H. J., Dr.Phil., The University, Leyden, Holland.
Cuvelier, Dr. J., Archiviste General du Royaume, Avenue des Rogations 45, Brussels, Belgium.

Dembinski, Professor Bronislaw, Dr.Phil., The University, Pozen, Poland.
Doughty, A. G., M.A., C.M.G., Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

Halévy, Professor M. Élie, La Maison Blanche, Sucy en Brie, S.-et-Oise, France.
Hannay, Professor R. K., M.A., 14 Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh.
Haskins, Professor C. H., Ph.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Haydon, Professor Mary T., M.A., 47 Windsor Road, Rathmines, Dublin.
Holtzmann, Professor R., Ph.D., The University, Berlin, C.2, Germany.
Horváth, Professor E., Phil.D., IV Molnar utca, 29 II. 8, Budapest, Hungary.

Jameson, Professor J. F., Litt.D., LL.D., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Jorga, N., Ph.D., Chaussée Bonaparte, 6, Bucharest, Roumania.

Koht, Professor H., Dr.Phil., Litt.D., The University, Oslo, Norway.

Linvald, Professor Axel, Keeper of the Archives, Kongensvej 24, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Lloyd, Professor J. E., M.A., Gwaen Deg, Bangor, Wales.

Meyer, Professor H. O., Ph.D., Widenmayerstrasse 26, Munich, Bavaria.

Pirenne, Professor Henri, Corr. F.B.A., 126 Rue Neuve St. Pierre, Ghent, Belgium.
Pribram, Professor A. F., D.Phil., The University, Vienna, Austria.

Ravenell, H. E., A.B., A.M., Spartanburg, South Carolina, U.S.A.
Re, Emilio, Cav. Dr., Archivio di Stato, Rome, Italy.

Sarolea, Prof. Charles, K.O.L., LL.D., Litt.D., 21 Royal Terrace, Edinburgh.
Susta, Professor Josef, Dr.Phil., Charles University, Prague, Czecko-Slovakia.

Villa Urrutia, His Excellency the Marquis de, G.C.V.O., Velasquez, 78 Madrid, Spain.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Aberdeen University.
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales.

Bath, Municipal Library.
Belfast, Queen's College.
Birkenhead Public Library.
Birmingham Library, Margaret Street.
Central Free Library, Ratcliffe Place, Birmingham.
University.
Bolton Central Reference Library, Town Hall Square.
Bradford Public Library, Darley Street.
Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion.
Bristol Central Library.

Cambridge, Girton College.
King's College.
Newnham College.
St. Catharine's College.
St. John's College.
Trinity College.
University Library.
Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library.
Cardiff Public Library.
Carlisle Public Library, Castle Street, Carlisle.
Cork, University College.

Dublin, King's Inn Library.
National Library of Ireland, Kildare Street.
Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson Street.
Trinity College.
Durham University.

Edinburgh, Library of the Writers to the Signet.
National Library of Scotland.
Public Library.
Record Office.
University.
Englefield Green, Surrey, Royal Holloway College.

Glasgow, Baillie's Institution, 153 West Regent Street.
Faculty of Procurators Library, 68 St. George's Place.
Mitchell Library.
University Library.
Gloucester Public Library, Brunswick Road.
Grimsby Public Library.

Hawarden, St. Deiniol's Library.
Hove Public Library.
Hull, University College.

Ireland, National Library of (*see* Dublin).

Leeds Church Institute.
Library, Commercial Street, Leeds.
Public Library.
The University.
Leicester Municipal Library, Wellington Street.
Liverpool, Athenæum Library, 40 Church Street.
Public Library.
University.
London, The Admiralty Library, S.W.1.
The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Battersea Public Libraries, Lavender Hill, S.W.11.
Bedford College for Women, Regent's Park, N.W.8.
Birkbeck College, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
British Museum, W.C.1.
Chelsea Public Library, Manresa Road, S.W.3.
Chiswick Public Library, Duke's Avenue, W.4.
Finsbury Public Library, Skinner Street, E.C.1.
Fulham Public Library, 598 Fulham Road, S.W.6.
Gray's Inn Library, W.C.1.
Guildhall Library, E.C.1.
Hammersmith Carnegie Central Library, W.
Hampstead Central Public Library, Finchley Road, N.W.8.
Hendon Public Library, The Burroughs, N.W.4.
House of Commons Library, S.W.1.
Inner Temple Library, E.C.4.
Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.1.
Kensington Public Library, High Street, W.8.
King's College Library, Strand, W.C.2.
The Law Society Library, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
Leyton Public Library, E.10.
Lincoln's Inn Library, W.C.2.
London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.1.
London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, Aldwych, W.C.2.
London University, South Kensington, S.W.7.
Middle Temple Library, E.C.4.
National Portrait Gallery, S.W.1.
New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
The Oratory, South Kensington, S.W.1.
Oxford and Cambridge Club, 21 Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Public Record Office, W.C.2.
Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Royal Institution, 21 Albemarle Street, W.1.
Royal Societies Club, 63 St. James's Street, S.W.1.
St. George's Public Library, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.
Shoreditch Public Library, Pitfield Street, N.1.
Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, S.W.1.
Southwark Central Library, Walworth Road, S.E.17.
Stoke Newington Public Library, Church Street, N.16.

London, United University Club, 1 Suffolk Street, S.W.1.
University College Library, Gower Street, W.C.1.
Westfield College Library, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Dr. Williams's Library, 14 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

Manchester, The John Rylands Library.
Public Libraries.
Middlesbrough Free Library, Municipal Buildings.
Mirfield, House of the Resurrection.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society.
Public Library.
Newport (Mon.), Public Library.
Norfolk and Norwich Library, Norwich.
Northampton Public Library, Abington Street.
Nottingham Public Reference Library.

Oldham, Union Street Library.
Oxford, All Souls College.
Balliol College.
Bodleian Library.
Exeter College.
Keble College.
Magdalen College.
Manchester College.
Merton College.
Queen's College.
St. John's College.
Union Society.

Preston Library (Dr. Shepherd's).

Reading Free Public Library, Blagrave Street.

St. Andrews University.
Scotland, National Library of (*see* Edinburgh).
Sheffield Public Library.
Stafford, William Salt Public Library.
Stonyhurst College, Whalley, Lancs.
Stratton-on-the-Fosse, near Bath, Downside Abbey.
Swansea University College, Singleton Park.

Wales, National Library of (*see* Aberystwyth).
Wigan Public Library.
Wimbledon Public Library.
Windsor Royal Library, Windsor Castle.
Workington Public Library.

York Public Library.
Yorkshire Architectural and Archæological Society, c/o G. Benson, Esq., Grasslyn, Thirsk Road, Easingwold, Yorks.

BRITISH DOMINIONS AND INDIA.

Adelaide (South Australia), Public Library.
University Library.

Allahabad (India), University Library.
Auckland University (New Zealand).

Bombay (India), University Library.
Brisbane (Queensland), Public Library of Queensland.
Brisbane (Queensland), University of Queensland.
Bulawayo (South Africa), Public Library.

Calcutta (India), Imperial Library.
Canberra (Australia), Library of the Parliament of the Commonwealth.
Cape Town (South Africa), South African Library.
Colombo (Ceylon), University College.

Dunedin (New Zealand), Otago University Library.

Grahamstown (South Africa), Rhodes University College Library.

Halifax (Nova Scotia), Legislative Library.

Johannesburg (South Africa), Public Library.

Lahore (India), University of the Punjab.
London (Canada), University of Western Ontario.
Lucknow (India), Isabella Thoburn College.

Melbourne (Victoria), University Central Library.
Public Library.
Montreal (Canada), McGill University Library.

Ottawa (Canada), Library of Parliament.

Patna (India), Patna College Library.
Perth (West Australia), Public Library.
Pretoria (South Africa), State Library.

Sydney (New South Wales), Public Library of New South Wales.
University Library.

Toronto (Canada), Legislative Library of Ontario.
Public Library, College and St. George Street.

Victoria (British Columbia), Provincial Library.

Wellington (New Zealand), General Assembly Library.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BELGIUM.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale.
Gand, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 2 Fosse d'Othon.

CHINA.

Peking, Chinese Social and Political Science Association, Men Shen Ku, Nan Chih Tze Ta., Chieh.
The National Library.
Tungshan, Canton, Sun Yatsen University Library.

DENMARK.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek.

FRANCE.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
Institut de France.
Université de Paris.
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, 6 Place de la République.

GERMANY.

Berlin, Preussische Staats-Bibliothek.
Bonn, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Breslau, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Darmstadt, Hessisches Landes-Bibliothek.
Erlangen, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Freiburg. Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Göttingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Greifswald, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Halle, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Hamburg, Institut für Auswärtige Politik, Poststrasse 19, Staats-Bibliothek.
Hamburg, Staats-Bibliothek.
Heidelberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Kiel, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Königsberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Leipzig, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Marburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Münich, Bayer Staats-Bibliothek.
Würzburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek.

ITALY.

Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

NORWAY.

Oslo, The University Library.

POLAND.

Warsaw, Biblioteka Min. Spraw Zagr. (Foreign Office Library).

SWEDEN.

Götebörg, Staadsbibliothet.
Stockholm, Kungl. Bibliotehet.
Uppsala, Kungl. Universitets-Bibliothek.

UNITED STATES.

Albany (N.Y.), New York State Library.
Amherst (Mass.), Amherst College Library.
Ann Arbor (Mich.), Michigan University Library.
Austin (Texas), University of Texas.
Baltimore (Md.), Enoch Pratt Library.
Johns Hopkins University Library
Peabody Institute Library.
Berkeley (Cal.), California University Library.
Bloomington (Ind.), Indiana University Library.
Boston (Mass.), Athenæum.
Public Library.

Brunswick (Me.), Bowdoin College Library.
Bryn Mawr (Pa.), Bryn Mawr College Library.
Buffalo (N.Y.), Grosvenor Public Library.

Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard College Library.
Harvard Law School Library.
Chicago (Ill.), Newberry Library.
University Library.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Public Library.
Cleveland (Ohio), Public Library.
Clinton (New York), Hamilton College Library.
Columbus (Ohio), State University Library.

Detroit (Mich.), Public Library.
Durham (N. Car.), Duke's University.

Eugene (Oregon), University of Oregon.
Evanston (Ill.), North Western University.

Grand Forks (N. Dakota), North Dakota University.
Grand Rapids (Mass.), Public Library.

Hanover (N.H.), Dartmouth College Library.
Haverford (Pa.), Haverford College Library.
Houston (Texas), Rice Institute Library.

Ithaca (N.Y.), Cornell University Library.

Jersey City (N.J.), Free Library.

Lansing (Mich.), State Library.
Lawrence (Kans.), Kansas University Library.
Lincoln (Neb.), Nebraska University Library.
Los Angeles (Cal.), Public Library.

Madison (Wis.), State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
Milwaukee (Wis.), Public Library.
Minneapolis (Minn.), Athenæum Library.
Minnesota University Library.

Newark (N.J.), Free Public Library.
New Haven (Conn.), Yale University Library.
New York, Columbia University Library.
General Theological Seminary Library.
Public Library.
University, Washington Square Library, 32 Waverley Place.

Philadelphia (Pa.), Library Company of Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania University Library.
Yarnall Library of Theology, 42nd and Locust Streets.
Pittsburg (Pa.), Carnegie Library, The Periodical Room, Shenley Park.
Poughkeepsie (N.Y.), Vassar College Library.
Princeton (N.J.), Princeton University Library.
Providence (R.I.), Brown University Library.

Richmond (Va.), Virginia State Library.
Rochester (N.Y.), University Library.

St. Louis (Mo.), Public Library.
Washington University.
San Francisco (Cal.), Public Library.
San Marino (Cal.), Henry E. Huntington Library.
Seattle (D.C.), University of Washington.
South Bethlehem (Pa.), Lehigh University Library.
South Hadley (Mass.), Mount Holyoke College Library.
Stanford (Cal.), University Library.

Terre Haute (Ind.), Indiana State Normal School Library.
Topeka (Kans.), Kansas State Historical Society.

Urbana (Ill.), Illinois University Library.

Washington (D.C.), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2 Jackson Place.
Catholic University of America.
Wellesley (Mass.), Wellesley College Library.
Williamstown (Mass.), Williams College Library.
Winona (Minn.), College of Saint Teresa.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.1.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.
The Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 63 Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
Surrey Archæological Society, Guildford.
Jewish Historical Society, Mocatta Library, University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
The University, Manchester.
Thoroton Society, Nottingham, c/o Rev. A. T. Cameron, St. Michael's Vicarage, Mt. Hoxton Road, Nottingham.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES ABROAD

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE SOCIETY.

AUSTRALIA.

Royal Australian Historical Society, Department of Education Offices, Bridge Street, Sydney, Australia.

AUSTRIA.

Akad. der Wissenschaften, Vienna.

BELGIUM.

Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts, Palais des Académies, Brussels.
Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Rue de Witte, 59, Antwerp.
Archives, Hotel de Ville, Antwerp.
Revue Bénédictine, Abbaye de Maredsous, par Maredret.
Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, 11 Rue Ravenstein, Brussels.

CANADA.

Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
Toronto University.

CZECKO-SLOVAKIA.

Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Alstadt, c. Nr. 562, Prague.

DENMARK.

Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, Copenhagen.

FRANCE.

Annales de Bourgogne, c/o Bibliothèque de la Ville, Dijon.
Bibliothèque de l'Université de Toulouse, 2 Rue de l'Université, Toulouse, Haute-Garonne.
Revue des Études Napoléoniennes. Directeur, M. Edouard Driault, 3 Avenue Mirabeau, Versailles, Paris.
Société de l'École Nationale des Chartes, 17 Rue de la Sorbonne, Paris.
Société de l'Histoire de France, 60 Rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris.
Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, Rue des Grandes-Écoles, Poitiers.

GERMANY.

Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, 3 Schlosz Portal, Berlin.
Hansischer Geschichtsverein, Staats Archiv., Konigstrasse 21, Lübeck.

HOLLAND.

Commissie van Advies voor Rijks Geschied-kundige Publicatien, The Hague.
Historisch Genootschap, Utrecht.

ITALY.

Reale Academia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Lucca.
Reale Academia dei Lincei, Rome.
R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, Rome.
Società di Storia Patria per la Sicilia Orientale, Catania, Sicily.

MEXICO.

Museo Nacional, D.F., Mexican Republic, Mexico.

NOVA SCOTIA.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society, Halifax, N.S.

POLAND.

Bibliothèque de L'Institut National Ossolinski Leopol (Lwow).
L'Administration Générale des Archives de l'État, Warsaw, Ul. Dlugo, No. 13.
Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Lwow Universitets (Leopol), Lwow.
Societas Scientiarum Varsaviensis, 8 Sniadeckich, Warsaw.

PORTUGAL.

Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisbon.
Revista de Historia, Av. do duque de Avila, Lisbon. 112.3°.

ROUMANIA.

Academia Romana, Bucharest.

RUSSIA.

Académie des Sciences d'Ukraïne, Rue Victime de la Révolution, Kyïv, Ukraine.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Academia Nacional de la Historia, Carácas, Venezuela.

SPAIN.

Real Academia de la Historia, Calle del Leon 21, Madrid.

SWEDEN.

K. Universitets Biblioteket, Lund.
Kongl. Vitterhets Historie Antiquitets Akademien, National Museum, Stockholm.
The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Sweden, Stockholm.
The University, Upsala.

SWITZERLAND.

Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz. Stadt Bibliothek, Berne.
Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Basel.
Tauschstelle der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft, Zentral Bibliothek, Zürich.

UNITED STATES.

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
American Jewish Historical Society, c/o A. M. Friedenberg, Esq., 38 Park Road, New York.
Connecticut Historical Society, Hertford, Conn.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Illinois Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois.
Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.
Minnesota Historical Society, Saint Paul, Minn.
New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 9 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.
New Jersey Historical Society, 16, West Park Street, Newark, N.J.
New Hampshire State Library, Concord, N.H.
New York Historical Society, 77 Street and Central Park West, New York.
Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R.I.
South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S.C.
Texas State Historical Society, Austin, Texas.
Virginia Historical Society, 707 East Franklin Street, Richmond, Va.

The Council are not responsible for the accuracy of the foregoing list, but they request that any inaccuracy or omission may be pointed out to the Secretary, and that all changes of address may be notified to him, so that delay in forwarding communications and the Publications of the Society may be avoided.

BIBL. LONDIN. UNIV.

SHL
WITHDRAWN

1956 1/1

1957